

# THE ARENA.

No. XLII.

MAY, 1893.

## AN AMERICAN SCHOOL OF SCULPTURE.

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But art itself, which is the faculty of perceiving and expressing the leading character of objects, is as enduring as the civilization of which it is the best and earliest fruit.

TAINÉ.

IN order to know how the American people rank to-day in the art of sculpture, and what possibilities are ours for the development of a great national art, we must determine, first, what constitutes greatness in plastic art, and secondly, what are the conditions that produce such greatness. Having considered these two questions, we shall be able to decide, by comparing our conditions with those of other great art epochs, what probability there is that America will achieve distinction in the art of sculpture.

We shall have to review briefly the history of those nations which have achieved such distinction; the cause of their success and how their art arose; its highest period and its decadence. Then, applying the tests of experience and history to our time, we shall be able to form our conclusions upon facts.

All men, no matter what their state of civilization, have practised the art of sculpture. From the first, men have had pleasure in imitating natural objects and sounds. From this love of imitation, the art of sculpture came into existence. While all men have the imitative faculty, but few are creators; and a piece of carving can only be called a work of art when it embodies an æsthetic or artistic idea. The mere imitation of a natural object is not sufficient; art demands that something be added to the natural. No better

definition can be given, perhaps, than that of Bacon. "Art," he says, "is man added to nature." Such art we are wont to call ideal or supernatural; that is, something in harmony with and embodying our highest thought. Ideal art, then, is the embodiment of a thought; such embodiment alone has the right to be called fine art. Art that lifts us above the commonplace and trivial, into the calm regions of the infinite, cultured people are wont to call great. Art, to be great and ideal, must appeal to the wide intelligence of a people, and it must express their noblest life.

The art of sculpture has its limits; its laws are firmly fixed, and plastic ideas can be properly expressed only by one who understands its conditions. We shall see, then, that to speak plastically, or to embody a thought in harmonious and enduring form, requires knowledge, self-restraint, and a mastery over the material from which the thought is to be cut or fused. This art requires complete knowledge of the limitations and laws governing plastic art, and thought sufficient to create a suitable idea. The sculptor must also have acquired sufficient technical power to master the material he works from, and to make it obedient to his thought. A sculptor's natural vehicle of expression is form, as is music to the musician.

A work of art is the natural product or result of refined and cultured living. It is so of necessity. Then, too, experience and history prove it to be so. A modern Frenchman, with his distorted ideas of life and abnormal moral conceptions, could no more produce a statue like the "Venus of Melos," than could Phidias, living in the calm, normal, refined atmosphere of Hellas, have produced a figure like a "Diana" of the French Salon. An artist is the voice of his people and time. It cannot be otherwise, or the time will not own him. History shows that great art has existed only where great ideas were current; and history also shows that every statue or monument of artistic worth has come of an intelligent people, and come, not isolated, but together with other like works of art, and where schools of sculpture have existed. There is no exception to this rule. As in later days Shakespeare was the natural climax of the Elizabethan age of letters and dramatics, so was Phidias, in antiquity, the result of the age of Pericles and Plato, and Michael Angelo the perfect flower of the Renaissance. A



great critic has shown that we may trace a work of art back, not only to the period and school which produced it, but to the artist himself, and the very time of his life when he created it. The rise, climax, and decadence of an art is one with the rise, climax, and decadence of a people.

While much of the carving done by pre-historic nations, and by the monastics of the Middle Ages, is interesting from an archaeological and historical standpoint, and from the patience and labor expended upon its production, it cannot properly be classified with the fine arts. There are peoples of antiquity who had no great original art, and yet were known throughout the then civilized world for their wide commercial importance. The Phœnicians were such a people. When a nation has no ideas worthy to be perpetuated, no sculptor arises to put them in enduring form. So, Tyre and Sidon, famous in their day, are known to us only as lying between Egypt and Assyria, and copying the art idea of both these nations. A nation, then, to be great in art, must have creative genius, and that genius must find complete and rounded expression. So we may pass over the crude arts that antedated the great monumental art of Egypt, and also those that came after her, and all peoples whose art idea has been merely imitative, decorative, or fantastic.

Coming to Egyptian art, one should understand, first, the period, secondly, the school, and thirdly and naturally, the artist himself. Carlyle speaks to our purpose when he calls Dante the articulate voice of the Italian people, and Shakespeare the voice of England.

Taine, the critic, was, no doubt, thinking of Egypt when he said that every school degenerates and falls, simply through its neglect of exact imitation and its abandonment of the living model. If he intended this statement to apply to schools of art in general, he is in error. History shows that almost every school that has existed has fallen into decadence through a too close following of human models, a too exact imitation, resulting in utter realism, which has meant and still means utter degradation of art. It is also true that a neglect of the human model, and a dry, literal imitation of antique casts, is as bad as the other extreme. If imitation were the chief end of art, as some claim it is, the man who makes plaster casts from life would do better work than the sculptor. No piece of sculpture can, by the most

careful study, be made so like as a death mask or a cast from the living model; and yet who would think of comparing such a cast with a statue?

The processes of casting furnish valuable data for a work of art, but are only means to an end. No sculptor intends, I take it, to make a statue so lifelike that the spectator will be deceived and think it to be alive. Such attempts always end in the art of the waxwork show. Is not one of the chief attractions in sculpture the pure white or amber tinted marble from which it is cut, and which is in no particular like life? In entering the church of San Pietro-in-Vincoli, at Rome, to see the Moses of Michael Angelo, one is led past a painted statue of the Virgin, actually clothed and evidently made to resemble real life. What contrast between the art of the image-maker and that of the sculptor! The former, trivial, debased, panders to the credulities of a superstitious people; and for all its dressing, it is far from life in form, color, and spirit, having in common with it only the externals of dress. The latter, a spiritual symbolical interpretation of life, the firm embodiment of enduring will and faith that does not falter. Moses, not as he was in flesh, blood, and mantle, but as he is for all time in spirit; an indomitable leader of the chosen people, one who had actually walked and talked with God, sublimely calm, the embodiment of noblest human dignity.

Let us understand that imitation belongs merely to the technical side of art. We must not belittle its office, nor must we make it all-sufficient. We cannot have a great art through a mere system of mechanics, no matter how complete or perfect it may be. We are driven back to the critic who says, "Art is man added to nature." The sublime sibyls of Michael Angelo are sublime because they have passed through the crucible of his masterful genius; born as much of his intelligence as of the models who posed for him. To the fine physical forms which he selected in human nature, he added the poetic beauty of his own thought and soul. What this was, we may see in his sonnets:—

What the cloud doeth  
The Lord knoweth,  
The cloud knoweth not.  
What the artist doeth,  
The Lord knoweth;  
Knoweth the artist not?

Having once understood the man's rounded nature, we can better understand how he created these inspired virgins. One may urge that they are not like life, and they are not like the life that passed his studio door each day; but somewhere he had seen such beings. In the subdued light of a silent cathedral, or against the evening skies beyond Florence, or at some brilliant festival, somewhere, no matter where, he had seen women like these. To imitation he added memory and poetic feeling, and produced, in their calm, dignified sweetness, these immortal creations.

In endeavoring to show that art is not mere imitation, it has been shown that art is not realism; and we come back to the point first urged, that great art is ideal. It is the essential of a person that art produces, that fleeting something (shall we call it spirit?) in a face that lifts it out of the crowd and fastens it upon our memory. We may call this character as well as spirit. We have shown that art is the spiritual representation of an idea or of a person. While there are different manifestations of the ideal, varying as different peoples vary, all ideal arts have had this in common—that they uplift, dignify, and ennoble human life and human thought.

We have omitted to mention an important factor in the artist's composition. It is the power for artistic selection. When this power has been cultivated, we call it taste. To the inborn trait must be added much wise seeing. This instinct for selection, or taste, is a distinctive characteristic of the great art eras, as well as of great artists.

To quote again a great critic, regarding the object of art: "The end of a work of art is to manifest some essential or salient character, consequently some important idea, clearer and more completely than is attainable from real objects." Art manifesting the highest aspirations of man must, to be great, be intelligible to all, and not merely to a chosen few. The great artists of all time have been rounded men and products of a complete and advanced civilization, and great arts have naturally been the same.

Having discussed our first question, namely, what greatness is in art, and more particularly sculpture, let us consider the conditions that have been found necessary to produce such great art and artists. If genius in man is like the vital, germinating force in all seed life, so, like this force,

does it depend on benignant and congenial surroundings. A tempered atmosphere is needed to develop that which otherwise would remain undeveloped, or at best remain an abortive growth. Genius in art is dependent upon prevailing tendency, the trend of life, what ideas or purpose may be current; and these decide what manifestation, if any, genius shall take on. To the begetting of a great art, certain moral and political conditions have been found necessary. Calm joy and clear faith are present in all great works of art. People given over to scepticism and despondency seldom produce a great statue or monument. A nation must enjoy a certain tranquillity if it is to practise the plastic arts. Statues must be thought out.

Prosperity, too, is necessary to the development of a rounded art. Art cannot flourish in abject poverty. The conditions of life and society must be such as to enforce a proper respect for the artist's calling. Ancient Rome never had a native artist, because the calling was thought undignified and effeminate. An artist, to produce great work, must be a part of the highest culture of his time. Ruskin has said that he should be fitted for the best society and keep out of it. Is it not truer that he should be fitted for the best society and keep in it? No great art is born of an attic studio alone. Art must have breadth and depth, must strike its roots deep into the soil upon which humanity lives if it is to live. If it is not so, it will become the dry, hard, suffering, ascetic art of the monasteries, that cannot stand the light and joy of every day. Great artists, then, are heirs to all that has gone before, as well as part and parcel of their epochs. Great art may be pathetic as well as joyful, but never despairing; it is the pathos of unstable man looking upon the calm, eternal repose of the mind's creations. The pathos, after all, is subjective, rather than objective. In the joyful eras of time, the conditions of life have been such that men have had leisure to create and care for the embodiments of their noblest aspirations; and wishing to perpetuate such ideals, they have put them in stone or lasting bronze.

Let us look at this question of condition more closely. Taking the Greek school for example, which attained the highest perfection possible, what conditions had it more favorable to sculpture than had Egypt and Assyria, from which she took her beginning in art? These nations

furnished each an indispensable letter of an alphabet, which, in the hands of the clear-eyed Greek, was made to express his free-born intelligence, symmetrical idea of human life, and the forces that govern it.

The first condition of Greek life was freedom. The Greek citizen served neither priest nor king. He elected his own magistrates and pontiffs, and might, in turn, be elected to any office himself. He was liable to be called upon to judge important political cases in the tribunal, and to decide grave matters of state in the assemblies. Every man was a trained soldier as well as a politician. It was necessary to be able to protect one's self from a possible inroad of the barbarians. All men were eligible to national offices. The warfare of that day called for personal prowess and agility, and the individual was developed to his highest possible capacity, capable of the utmost human endurance. The producing of fine physical form was the chief art among the Greeks. The Olympian games consisted of a triumphal display of the nude figure. Before the eyes of the whole nation, the Greek youth contended for supremacy. Poets chanted the praises of the victor, and his name was given to the Olympiad. His native city received him in triumph, and the deeds of his prowess became her pride. Many tales are told of the excessive admiration and constant joy which the Greek had in perfection of human form. The costume was light and easily put off, while the long, sweeping folds of the mantle gave dignity and grace to the draped figure. We know that the flower of Athenian youth entered into these contests; and it is recorded that Sophocles, when a youth, and distinguished for his beauty, stripped off his garment to dance and chant pæans. Phidias not only entered to admire and study the nude form at these joyful festivals, but was wont himself to contend; so he knew from experience all possible movements of the human body and every expression of the face. At the baths, too, sculptors had the opportunity of studying the human figure in a thousand listless, graceful attitudes.

Not only did the Greek admire a finely developed human form, but he considered it to be actually the abode of divinity. To him the body was the temple of the spirit, as the word is used in its pagan interpretation. It is natural for the Greek to have sought an enduring expression for the beautiful



human forms it was the chief end of his existence to develop; and a successful athlete, when crowned, was entitled to a statue.

The Greek system of education included all that Delsarte has sought to formulate. The educated Greek had an abounding faith in the moral government of the universe, and his life was not harassed nor disquieted by anxious doubt. At peace with himself and with his gods, he had time and inclination to cultivate the beautiful arts; and all his statuary is the reflection of a serene state of mind, well adapted to plastic thought. In this healthful atmosphere, sculpture found nothing to retard its growth. We have seen it fettered by priestcraft in Egypt, and by unvarying conventionality in Assyria. We have discussed the conditions necessary to the successful growth of sculpture, and we have seen that these conditions belong to Greece more than to any country, perhaps, before or since. The Athenian had abundant leisure. His work was done by slaves. But this leisure was not given over to bloody shows, as was the case with the more brutal Roman, but was devoted to intellectual and physical education. The gymnasium of that day was the great art school, where the sculptor might bring his clay and study the youth as they ran, wrestled, hurled the spear, or threw the discus. On festival occasions, in the choral and orchestral dances, was seen every beautiful position and movement of the human body.

Their greatest sculptor, Phidias, lived at the same time as their greatest architect, Ictinus, their most revered philosopher, Plato, and distinguished dramatist, Sophocles. We see, then, that the age which produced the greatest men in literature, art, and science produced the grandest works of sculpture in Greece. We know that Pericles, the chief statesman of that era, was the friend of Phidias, and could, no doubt, talk as intelligently about art as Phidias could converse about letters and affairs of state.

Athenian civilization was at its zenith. The fragments which remain of the frieze and pedimental groups of the Parthenon exhibit the handiwork of a firmly poised, symmetrical mind, and a hand thoroughly trained to execute its bidding. Were we not charmed with the perfect proportion and satisfying beauty of the whole, it would be easy to lose one's self in the subtlety of finish and the delicate relation of plane to



plane. Dignity, reverence, and self-control are their chief characteristics, and must have distinguished the man who created these marvellous works. Supreme knowledge of the laws and limitations of sculpture is shown. Each figure is perfectly adapted to the place it fills.

We may take these sculptures as typical of the symmetrical, harmonious, and completely rounded Greek life which gave them existence. Each man bore easily and unconsciously the political and social duties laid upon him by the state. That the Greeks were a people of infinite possibilities and capable of indefinite expansion, may be seen in the way in which they represent repose in action. The Greek knew where to place his climax. His emotional nature was subordinated to his intelligence. There is no running riot; something is forever kept back. We feel that we may any day find some statue more beautiful than the last. His nature is at times dramatic, never theatrical. All this can be seen in his sculpture more than any other manifestation of his genius. Sculpture was the soul and the central art of Greece, and must remain forever its most splendid attraction.

After seven hundred years of effort, Rome conquered Greece, and robbed her of her art treasures to decorate her own gaudy villas. Glancing for a moment at the condition of national and private life at Rome, we shall see why she never produced a great art or even one single distinguished sculptor. Could we have followed Greek art from the moment of her supreme glory to the second period of her career, of which epoch Praxiteles was the most illustrious creator, we would have seen her stripped of her sublimity, but still beautiful. The distinguishing characteristic of this second epoch, when the decadence of art had begun, was a sensuous loveliness. The spiritual meaning was becoming more and more confused, the standards of life were lowered, and all that was ennobling and poetical in the Greek religion was fast becoming lost in affectation. As life was degraded, art followed its footsteps. Art had still, however, its canons of modesty. After the death of Praxiteles, sensual representation became its chief object.

To be a great artist in Greece was to be the equal of the greatest in the land. In Rome it was not so. Artists were relegated to the mechanic classes. The Roman was a distinct realist, and never rose above the level of portraiture

and imitation. The chief object of Roman life was to possess and dominate. Amid such selfish and ignoble surroundings, art could not flourish. Cæsar, Agrippa, and Augustus affected a love for the fine arts. The plundering of Greece finally led to the establishment of a second-rate school at Rome, which we may call the Greco-Roman. The conditions of life at Rome were utterly opposed to the creation or development of a national school that can, with any propriety, be called great. Their chief art was warfare, and in this they excelled. Public and private life was immoral to the point of licentiousness. Rome may be quoted as a negative example, to show the conditions under which art cannot exist, or reach any lofty development.

The little art which Rome possessed was swept away or buried by the barbarian hordes. What followed upon the invasions is painful enough, when we think of monuments mutilated that were once the glory of Greece. In the ten centuries that follow upon the fall of Rome there is no art worthy of record; nor has this brutalized, debased existence any direct bearing upon the subject. The conditions under which men lived were not those from which art is developed.

With the Gothic period, new life was infused into sculpture, as well as into architecture. But sculpture was for the most part decorative and so much the handmaiden of architecture, that it is difficult to separate one from the other. The workmen who carved the ornaments of these vast Gothic cathedrals became, by practice and aspiration and by study of new-found classical models, the sculptors who formed the early Italian Renaissance. Human life was taking on new aspects. Man's restless, feverish desires were satisfied by the new ideals which Christianity had planted in his breast. Life became joyful once more, as it was in ancient Greece, and expressed itself in manifold lovely forms, weird, mystical, and enchanting. Sculpture was more personal than with the Greek. Life was more direct, and every moment, to the Christian, was of divine importance.

There is a happy blending in this Renaissance period of the grand style with a style so tender and full of human affection, that we may best characterize it by the word "Christian." Human life was again serious, beautiful, and expansive. Human rights were respected, and law was re-established. Life became once more normal, intelligent, and free; and art, cor-

responding to these conditions, arose and was developed to a marvellous degree of perfection. Donatello and Michael Angelo are the men whose art makes up and colors the new-found Renaissance school. The art of Donatello shows classical influence, and that of Michael Angelo consummate knowledge of antique sculpture. The greatest men of this school in sculpture were roundedly developed men of broad ideas and liberal culture. The relief work of Donatello is known throughout the world. It is tinged, but sweetly, with the mystical spirit of those who created Gothic art. It is a happy blending of a contented, Christian living, with calm, classical feeling for outline and form.

We have already spoken of the art of Michael Angelo, and need not return to it now. Art was again down-trodden, or lost sight of, in the scepticism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Life was not worthy of perpetuation in sculpture. Human thought was too fickle and changeable, so we may pass over the interlude after of the Italian Renaissance, until we come to the modern re-birth of art in France. France was the cradle of modern sculpture. Whatever criticisms or strictures we may see fit to make upon French sculpture, we must give her credit for the splendid and fearless way in which she initiated a new art era. In dealing with the modern art of France, it is difficult to be just—to hold the matter at arms' length, as it were, and look upon its every side. We are apt to be fascinated with its brilliant qualities and forget that the first test by which we must judge it, is whether or not it be sculptural. While it has produced some fine work and isolated statues, here and there, taken as an art, as a school of sculpture, it cannot be called great—not in the sense, certainly, in which we have applied the term to the art of Greece and that of the Italian Renaissance. The French have shown intimate knowledge of the human form, together with much technical skill. Certain of their statues exhibit action and force and even original genius. If the conditions of French life had not demanded the sensual realism that dominates their art, the art of France might have become great. Then, too, this realistic tendency has carried them so far that their statues are little more than literal copies of the nude models one may see at the Julian schools or at the academy. The statue of St. John, by Rodin, is only a common Italian model of a low

type, with a head that forbids any intellectual activity. The statue is an exact copy of this model. This example may stand for most all of their statues. The too close following of the living model has led them into a style that argues a sure decadence. French sculpture reflects French life. Can we call that life great? I think not; nor can we call their art great. The conditions of life in France are not true and noble enough, not pure and frank enough, in their essence, to produce a great and lasting art, and no amount of artifice will enable them to do so. It is clever, brilliant, if you will, but no one can say that France has produced a great school of sculpture. Is not the supreme test for work of art this? Does it teach us to live better, more calmly and greatly? If not, it cannot be called great and will not endure.

The beginnings of our modern school were made by men who had studied in Italy and France, many of them in both schools. Of the early American school of sculpture, which has almost entirely passed away and left to us, alas, so many dull, lifeless pseudo-Greek works, it is scarcely worth while to speak. No sculpture of this school rose even to the level of Canova or Thorwaldsen, and these sculptors were simply imitators of the Greek school.

We come now to our own epoch; to men like St. Gaudens, Warner, French, Ward, and, among the older men, Thomas Ball, and some others whom I need not mention. This school has had courage and thought sufficient to escape from that pseudo-classical thralldom which had made slaves and imitators of their predecessors. They are the pioneers or early settlers in the new art era which is dawning upon America. Are not the conditions of our life, as we hold them calmly away and look at them from an abstract standpoint, such as to promise a great national art for this country?

We, like the Greeks, are free men. The conditions of our life, the new life that is beginning everywhere, are much the same as those which existed in Athens in her palmy days of art. Education is free and universal. We are not harassed by warfare, or by a military system that takes a number of the best years of a man's life and devotes them to military routine. We are a prosperous people; abject poverty is rarely found. Then, too, we have numerous processes for reproducing works of art, and carrying them into every

home in the land, so all may know what other people have achieved in art and letters. We are the heirs, more than any people, perhaps, to-day, of the past history of the world. Life with us is, in the main, frank and open. Every man is thought to have some occupation. Our religion does not fetter us. We are free to represent what we will in sculpture or painting, as long as our representation be not ignoble or licentious. There are laws prohibiting representations of this order. We are a people who love the beautiful; this is amply manifested by our poets, historians, and novelists. Our art is yet in its youth, but there is something in the American genius akin to the Greek — a most precious quality — that power to be evolved and evolve itself unendingly — capacity for indefinite expansion. So far, it has shown itself chiefly in science and mechanics; but these are the natural precursors of art epochs. Among the continental nations of Europe, we are held to be a great people. Is it not natural to assume, then, that our art, when it has had time for a proper and rounded development, shall be great also? We have now some of the best examples of monumental sculpture in the world. I may mention a few examples, such as the "Farragut" of St. Gaudens; a number of fine statues by Daniel French; the Governor Buckingham statue, by Warner, the "Washington" by Thomas Ball in Boston, the Washington statue by Ward, in Wall Street, and many others.

If, then, our country shall follow the traditions of the past, shall take its example from the successes, and its warnings from the failures of nations which have preceded us in art, we may fully expect a great art era for America. We may never reach the height attained by Greece, in the days of Phidias or Praxiteles, but yet even this is not impossible.



## AN EVOLUTION OF CHRISTIANITY PRIOR TO DR. ABBOTT'S.

BY PRESIDENT ORELLO CONE.

THE application of the doctrine of evolution to Christianity has naturally excited widespread attention, and elicited conflicting judgments. As might have been expected, it has not been regarded with general favor in the Church. Men who think that Christianity is a supernatural religion do not readily admit as explanatory of its origin and history a principle so intimately associated with naturalism and the scientific method as is that of evolution. They distrust all attempts to reconcile it with supernaturalism, and are apprehensive lest the old doctrine be driven from the field by this vigorous young claimant for popular favor. The mediating attitude assumed by a distinguished representative of "the new theology," in a recent course of the Lowell lectures, accordingly fails to secure general acceptance. His attempt to expound Christianity from the point of view of evolution is not approved by conservative thinkers in the Church, because they suspect the theory on which the exposition proceeds, while his application of the principle is not thorough enough to satisfy its more radical advocates. It is not the purpose of the present discussion to undertake a critical review of the lectures of the eminent thinker and scholar referred to, but rather to point out a phase of the evolution of Christianity which he appears to have overlooked—a phase of it which is of the greatest importance to a correct view of the beginnings of Christianity and of the writings in which they are recorded.

The particular aspect of evolution which it is proposed to consider appears in the New Testament, and the question naturally presents itself for discussion in the first place, in what sense the principle of evolution admits of application to the writings composing this book. Dr. Abbott, in the lectures in question, unreservedly maintains that the Bible



is the product of evolution, but he has not set forth with entire clearness and precision the principles involved in this teaching. It is not apparent from his exposition what relation he conceives supernaturalism to hold to the naturalism usually implied in the term "evolution." He declares at the outset that to deny that "the Bible is an inspired literature and contains a divine revelation," is to deny Christianity, and that he who makes this denial "is not, in his belief, a Christian." From the point of view of "the new theology," as expounded in the Lowell lectures, the Bible, although "an inspired literature," is not "a final and infallible standard." The "divine revelation" which it contains is "progressive," beginning with a dim and uncertain light, and "growing brighter and brighter unto the perfect day." But if the Bible is not a final and infallible standard, one cannot but raise the question what warrant there is for holding that its conclusion indicates the noontide effulgence, "the perfect day," of spiritual illumination. If its revelation is "progressive," if its moral and spiritual disclosures are all only relatively true because adapted to the capacity and development of their recipients, then the end of it is only so much better or nearer the truth than the beginning as the recipients of its last disclosures were more highly developed than those to whom its first message was delivered. It is difficult to see how a relative revelation of this sort could ever attain its "perfect day," for the continuous development of mankind would require a continuous "inspired literature," if such a literature is needed at all. A "progressive revelation" could come to an end and have a closed canon only when the progress of mankind came to an end. Otherwise, since revelation is determined by the capacity of its recipients, the degree of development reached by the human race at the time when the last writing of the "inspired literature" was finished would denote the high-water mark of this literature, and indicate how far it fell short, even in its highest evolution, of being "a final and infallible standard." A "progressive revelation" can be only a progressive standard—that is, a standard to those alone to whom its successive parts are delivered, and must altogether cease to be a standard when it comes to an end.

Furthermore, it is not clear in what sense revelation is used when it is brought under evolution and conceived as

progressive. The Bible is said to contain "a divine revelation" — a term which, when employed without qualification, must be understood to mean a supernatural communication of truth. But how this can proceed by stages of evolution, is not apparent. A divine revelation determined by the capacity of its recipients, and varying according to that capacity, is a contradiction in terms if the revelation conveys the truth, unless the truths communicated be assumed to be graded from elementary to higher. But it cannot be shown that in general there is such a gradation in the Bible, where so-called "revelations" of the character of God, of duty, and of worship, given at one time are reversed at another. Since "the new theology" admits these incongruities in the Bible, it is not necessary to dwell upon them; but it should be pointed out that if both of two contradictory doctrines or precepts are revelations, one of them is a revelation of error, and that the term "progressive revelation," employed to denote the advance from the law of retaliation to the law of love, is a misnomer. If Jesus was right in reversing certain Old Testament precepts, these precepts were not divine revelations of the truth; and we have on the theory in question no guaranty that he himself was right, since his teachings also are involved in the scheme of a progressive revelation. Since, then, this theory makes of the Bible a mere series of teachings, which are relative to the degree of development attained by the people to whom they were given, and which cannot properly be called divine revelations, its maintenance appears to be in the highest degree illogical and unsound. Having arrived upon this ground in its departure from the old mechanical theory of inspiration, "the new theology" cannot consistently refuse to advance to the historical point of view, from which the varying doctrines in the Bible are regarded as representing the progress of man in moral and spiritual development, and from which alone the principle of evolution can be applied to this book without confusion and inaccuracy.

The conception of the Bible as a closed canon of "inspired literature" introduces a dogmatic preconception which interferes with the strictly scientific application of the principle of evolution. Within the limits of this literature it is assumed that the evolution is determined by a divine intervention which expresses itself in inspiration, while elsewhere the

religious evolution of man presumably proceeds in a natural way. We have thus in the Bible the anomaly of an exception to a great natural law which is presumably applied to the Bible because of its supposed universality! A careful study of the origin of the biblical writings and of the history of the canon should have saved the advocates of "the new theology" from taking this illogical position into which they have apparently been betrayed by a desire to retain an ancient and revered terminology now meaningless in their hands. The semi-supernaturalism of "the new theology" prevents it from regarding the movements of religious thought in the New Testament, subsequent to Jesus, as belonging to that long series of theological developments which is known as the history of Christian doctrines; although according to the historical method, which is supported by the facts of the formation of the canon of the New Testament, there appears to be no reason for drawing a hard and fast line between the canonical and the uncanonical literature of the early church. Accordingly, in treating of the evolution of Christianity, the representatives of this mode of thought shrink from a thorough and consistent application of the law of evolution to the New Testament, and go no further with it than to deal in phrases about a "progressive revelation."

It is necessary, then, to a complete and consistent view of the evolution of Christianity, as well as to an understanding of the later developments of Christian thought, to go farther back toward the sources of our religion than the new theology appears to be inclined to venture, and to treat of certain phases of that evolution which are found in the New Testament itself. The discussion upon which we are to enter does not proceed upon the theory of a "progressive revelation," and does not undertake to show a progress of thought toward an ideally perfect theology. It is rather occupied with a movement from simple to differentiated and complex conceptions.

The point of departure of the development of thought in the New Testament is of course the person and teaching of Jesus. The principle on which this development must be supposed to have proceeded, is the induction from history that the results of the occupation of human thought with any theme are largely determined by the prevailing ideas of the time; that is, by the intellectual environment, and by prepossessions and absorbing interests and feelings. The

determination of the point of departure is evidently of great importance. Here it is difficult, for the biographies of Jesus which approach most nearly to an historical character, the first three or synoptic gospels, were probably not written until near the end of the first century—a period of fifty or sixty years from his death. That the tradition of which these are the deposit should have undergone during this period no modifications through accretions of a poetic and legendary character, is improbable in view of the age and the people, and from the analogy of the beginnings of other religious literatures. Its flexibility is so apparent in the numerous variations of the written narratives, that one hazards nothing in affirming that these writings do not present a precise and accurate account of the person, works, and teachings of Jesus. While they show the influence of an historical interest and aim, they cannot be said to be carefully and critically compiled biographies. That the oral tradition of Jesus remained stationary for fifty years, is contrary to all probability and all analogy. The natural course of its development would be in the direction of an idealizing of his person, modifications of his sayings under the influence of the environment, and an enhancement of his works. The writings in question show, with great probability, that it took this course. The wonder-story of the birth of Jesus is not mentioned in the oldest of them, that ascribed to Mark; it is not referred to in his recorded sayings, and in the epistolary literature of the New Testament; its historicity is accordingly very doubtful. There are many cases of an apparent transformation of spiritual facts, sayings, and ideas into historical events. Probable examples of this are the story of the descent of a dove at the baptism, the temptation in the wilderness, the marvellous increase of food, the cursing of the fig tree, the rending of the veil of the Temple, the bodily resurrection of saints at the crucifixion, and other similar events. A very natural development of the tradition of Jesus among his followers, who interpreted his declaration of his spiritual Messiahship as an acceptance of the traditional Messianic office, resulted in the doctrine of an early return of the ascended Christ to the earth, to efface the ignominy of his death by a swift and terrible judgment. The life of a wandering teacher who “had not where to lay his head,” ending in the dishonor of the crucifixion, was for them no

suitable fulfilment of a Jewish-Messianic mission. Accordingly, their ardent expectation doubtless gave to some sober words of his concerning his future spiritual presence among them the form of a vivid delineation of a personal bodily return within his own generation, and he was made to say that he would come in the clouds of Heaven with a troop of his "holy angels," gather the "nations" to judgment before an earthly "throne of glory," and award to men eternal life or eternal punishment according to their treatment of his "brethren."

The religion of Jesus, which does not admit of a precise formulation, but the leading features of which were a sense of men's dependence upon and responsibility to God as a righteous Father, a recognition of their capacity to hold communion with Him through their spiritual nature, over which death has no power, and a practical principle of brotherhood that binds men together in mutual love and helpfulness, thus received from his original Jewish-Christian followers considerable modifications and this Messianic-apocalyptic appendage which occupies a conspicuous place in the synoptic gospels, and determined to a considerable degree their coloring of his biography. The Messianic interest of Jewish Christianity directed attention chiefly to the future as the theatre of the exaltation of Christ, and is responsible for the apocalyptic features of its interpretation of his mission. But the Pauline transformation of his gospel was largely influenced by a speculative interest, disregarded his life and teachings, and began the exaltation of his person in a pre-existent state of glory in the heavenly regions. Paul indeed conceived "the man Christ Jesus" to have been "born of the seed of David according to the flesh," but to him he was more than the human personality of the original gospel-tradition; he was "the man from Heaven," "the second Adam," the spiritual head and representative of the human race, whose mission it was to counteract the consequences of the fall in Eden by becoming the founder of a new order of humanity under "the law of the spirit of life." He conceived a Messiahship that transcended the primitive Jewish idea of it, which rested in the restoration of the political order of Israel, and extended the Messianic functions to the restoration of the spiritual order of mankind. The mighty agent who must achieve this stupendous work could have no



tribal limitation, could not be merely the "anointed" of a people, but must be of universal significance in his origin and nature, the pre-existent, archetypal, heavenly man, "the image of God," and the one through whom the creation became. So vast an end to be attained must have a means adequate to its accomplishment. The distance which the Christological development of the gospel of Jesus traversed through this metaphysical Pauline conception of the person of its founder may be seen by a comparison with it of his own doctrine of his nature and office as it appears in the oldest historical sources. We here find him saying nothing of his pre-existence or of his agency in creating the world. He connects the result of his work in no way with a celestial rank and a metaphysical notion of his person. He trusts with heroic faith in his word, which as a "heaven" will transform the world.

This Pauline transformation of the gospel of Jesus did not, however, stop with the construction of a new Christology, but reached its height in a doctrine of salvation, which was as different from that of Jesus as its theory of his person was from his teaching regarding himself. Jesus, who recognized no other foundation for a character than that which is laid in hearing and doing his words, who taught nothing of bearing "the curse of the law" in his death, of his own satisfaction of the divine righteousness for the world, of a representative atonement, and of a justification of men which should be "accounted" to them through their faith in him, did not have in view the abolition of the law, but expressly declared that he came to fulfil it. He would have men attain righteousness as he attained it, by a trusting, worshipful obedience, by spiritual communion with God, and by nurturing the sentiment of brotherly love. This easy yoke and light burden he invited men to assume, and believed in their spiritual capacity to achieve the task through the quickening of his word and life. On the contrary, Paul's theory of salvation was grounded upon a distrust of man's ability, took no account of the teachings and life of Jesus, and was constructed with reference to a theoretical, absolute consummation, a complete satisfaction of the law, a clearing off once for all of its claims by a settlement of its account, which partake more of magic than of rational practicability. The idea of a righteousness which is "accounted" to men through faith by



reason of the satisfaction of the requirements of the law by one who has "redeemed them from its curse," and been "made a curse" for them, is foreign to the thought of Jesus, and altogether incompatible with his conception of the establishment of right relations between man and God. The teaching that the Father demands of the wayward son only repentance and return; that to enter the kingdom one must do the will of God and renounce the worldly possessions which encumber the spirit; that the great invitation must be accepted with joyful alacrity, though the loved ones are left without adieu; and that the coming after him, or the attainment of his spiritual altitude, is simply to take up the cross of service and sacrifice and follow him, could not be more radically transformed than it was in the construction of this metaphysical scheme of salvation.

Paul, with all his greatness, was not, however, quite superior to the apocalyptic expectations of his age and race, and his conception of the kingdom of God included a manifestation of the Messiah from Heaven and a "judgment seat of Christ." But in his doctrine of the last things the original Jewish-Christian Messianism underwent a transformation by the addition of new and strange features. In the synoptic account of the second coming of Christ there is no mention or intimation of a resurrection, and the "throne" of the Son of Man is established on the earth for the judgment of "all nations." On the contrary, the Pauline Christian apocalypse is intimately connected with the apostle's theory of salvation. To be saved was in his thought to become a sharer in the glory and life of the Messianic kingdom, and to reign with Christ at his coming. This good fortune was to be that of the believers in Christ, both those who had "fallen asleep" and those who should be "alive" and "remain" at the Parousia. The former would be "raised incorruptible," and the latter would be "changed." By reason of the spirit dwelling in them of Him who raised up Christ from the dead, their mortal bodies would be quickened; and clothed upon with bodies in the likeness of Christ's "body of glory," they would enter upon the blessedness of being "forever with the Lord." This Pauline transformation of the Jewish-Christian eschatology, although including the expectation of an immediate and catastrophic consummation, and such materialistic features as the deliverance of "the

groaning creation" from "the bondage of corruption," to which it was supposed to have been subjected by the sin of Adam, and the subjection of the Messiah's "enemies," was on the whole a more spiritual apprehension of "the last things" than the latter. Among its characteristic traits were a spiritualizing of the Jewish doctrine of the resurrection of the body, a relating of the inward, spiritual transformation through faith to the resurrection apprehended as a clothing upon of the soul with an incorruptible corporeity by reason of the indwelling Spirit, an ingathering of "the fullness of the Gentiles," and a hope of the salvation of the beloved and much yearned-for "brethren according to the flesh." The apostle's grounds for believing in the consummation of so hopeful a soteriology within the brief time which remained before the hastening Parousia are not apparent, and there are many things besides in his eschatology which do not well accord with one another; but his doctrine of the last days agrees with his exalted conception of Christ as the divine man from Heaven and the universal spiritual Messiah, and with his idea of the transforming spirit which touches even the mortal body with its life-giving efficacy. It is distinguished by a profundity and a noble humaneness which are in striking contrast with the externality and harshness of the synoptic apocalypse.

The evolution of Christian doctrine which appears in the deuterio-Pauline literature, Hebrews, Colossians, Ephesians, and 1 Peter, shows how profoundly the person of Christ impressed the early believers in him. The transformation of Paulinism by its friends took two general directions: a further exaltation of the person of Christ, and a departure from the distinctive teachings of the apostle regarding salvation. In the matter of Christology, conceptions were introduced from different points of view, which were, indeed, somewhat in touch with Paulinism, but denote a considerable departure from the apostle's thought; while the soteriology was characterized by a quiet dropping out of his fundamental doctrines, and a tendency to return toward the original Christian ideas of the establishment of right relations between man and God. Under the influence of Alexandrian ideas there was developed here a Christology of striking novelty, widely different from that of the original tradition. Since the writings in which it appears originated

at about the same time with the synoptic Gospels, the two types of doctrine regarding the person of Christ present an historical problem of no little difficulty. It cannot be solved upon the assumption of the unity of doctrine in the New Testament resulting from the assumed divine communication of truth to all its writers, but only from the historical point of view by the hypothesis of a development proceeding from the primitive tradition of Jesus, and variously modified here and there by different influences and environments. In the one we cannot but recognize the predominant influence of the Palestinian tradition, and in the other the speculative Alexandrian tendency. Accordingly, the Son of Man of the synoptic Gospels becomes in these epistles "the high-priest" of redemption, "the express image" of the being of God, the "brightness" of the divine glory, and an all-pervading efficacy, "upholding all things by the word of his power." The Pauline idea of the agency of Jesus in creation is evolved into the conception of him as the creator of "all things in heaven and earth, visible and invisible, thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers," and his exaltation culminates in the declarations that he is before all things, that "in him all things subsist," and that he possesses "all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." So Philo supposed the Logos to be "filled entirely with the immaterial powers." With the disappearance of the Pauline doctrine of the representative office of Christ, prominence is here given to the ethical significance of his passion, and this idea is developed in connection with mythological features, among which appear the "bringing to naught of him who hath the power of death, that is, the Devil," and the disarming of the orders of hostile spiritual beings, "principalities and powers," which are made "a public show," and "led captive in triumph." The bond of the law which they are supposed to hold against sinful men is "nailed to the cross," so that by means of the great sacrifice the demonic powers are put to confusion and overthrown. The prince of the mythologic "powers of the air" no longer holds the souls of the faithful in his relentless grasp, for the great champion has gained the victory in the cosmic contest which was waged between the representatives of the two mighty cosmic forces of good and evil.

The great transformations of the gospel of Jesus which appear in the New Testament are completed in the fourth

Gospel, a dogmatic, mystical writing with an ostensible biographical purpose subordinated to a distinctive theological tendency. The person of Christ is the prominent theme, which is accentuated in the prologue, in the discourses, and in the narratives, and his exaltation is carried to the verge of deification. The lowly Jesus of Nazareth of the synoptic tradition here becomes the heaven-descended Logos who was in the beginning with God, and was God, by whom the world was made, and through whom, in the word of ancient seers, a dimly apprehended light had shone upon the abyss of spiritual darkness. The position assigned to Jesus in this Gospel is one of cosmic significance, and his functions transcend the limits of Jewish Messianism. Greater than the Pauline second Adam, he is no representative of the human race, appointed to bear the curse of the law in his passion for the sake of men. He offers no atoning sacrifice, and his death is not an humiliation, but a gateway through which he passes out of the darkened world into his "glory." He does not suffer in order to satisfy the divine righteousness, and does not "buy off" sinful men by the payment of the precious ransom of his blood, but he draws them to himself by the attraction of his personality, and to those who receive him he gives "power to become the children of God." There is here no roundabout accounting of men as righteous through faith by reason of the abrogation of a burdensome "law," but the life-giving Christ directly communicates to the believers a spiritual principle which is in them "a well of water springing up to everlasting life." Obedience, far from being, as in the Pauline thought, an impossible achievement, is the prompt and glad expression of the life of him who is in living union with Christ. For the believer the future is full of promise. The blessed Paraclete will come. Receiving that which is Christ's, he will communicate it to the faithful, leading them "into all truth." Death has no power over those who have been united with Christ. He "will raise them up at the last day," and they will "come forth to a resurrection of life."

The various types of teaching contained in the New Testament — the essential gospel of Jesus and the Jewish-Christian, the Pauline, the deutero-Pauline, and the Johannine — present, indeed, formal differences of doctrine. But while the teaching of Jesus lies at the basis of all the other teach-

ings, and stood in a causal relation to them, furnishing partly the material and almost entirely the impulse which made them possible, there exists between the two classes a more important distinction than that of merely formal variations. The evolution of Christianity from the simple gospel of Jesus to the Johannine speculations, far from indicating a "progressive revelation," denotes as to religious content a retrogressive tendency. A development of doctrine is, however, apparent, proceeding from the simple to the complex, the enhanced, and the metaphysical. While the several members of the second class present co ordinate differences, the two classes — the original gospel of Jesus and its doctrinal developments — are distinguished by a fundamental difference of nature. It is the distinction between religion as experienced and discoursed of by one who was spiritually in touch with divine realities and in communion with God, and the accretions which become attached to his message and his story when these are committed to the flood of oral tradition; between the teacher in his aloneness and simple grandeur, and the portraits of him drawn by his own and the immediately succeeding generations; between a God-allied life illustrating a divine message, and human conceptions and opinions of both, determined by varying interests, tendencies, and prejudices, and by tribal or provincial points of view; between a word of universal import spoken from a commanding outlook of spiritual experience, and the commentaries of the schools upon it; between a spiritual Messiah already come, with neither strife nor cry, in an inward kingdom of righteousness and love, and a temporal Messiah about to come on the clouds in pomp and splendor, with apocalyptic "thrones" and judgment; between the proclamation of the kingdom of God as an ethical religious principle, and an interpretation of it determined by the feverish Messianic hopes of an age of political ferment and fanaticism; between the intuitions of an inspired Master, who in his purity of heart beholds God, and the speculations of lesser men who grope if haply they may find Him; between realities and dreams, religion and theology, revelation and apocalypse, truth and half-truths; between the self-consciousness of the Son of Man and metaphysical Christologies; between the straight way to God through sacrifice and obedience, and abstract and mechanical schemes of redemption;



and between seeking the present kingdom of God and His righteousness, and "gazing up into heaven" to discern a coming kingdom of apocalypse.

The importance and transcendent worth of the gospel of Jesus, in contrast with the "undivine elements" in which the evolution of Christianity in the New Testament resulted, are evident as soon as it is separated from these and regarded by itself. Christianity and the religion of Jesus are two things which it is necessary to clear thinking about either to keep distinct. The gospel of Jesus is a teaching which may be described as the expression of his thought and experience of man's relation to God and to his fellow-man, or of conduct in the widest sense of the word. It has the stimulus and nurture for the mind which always accrue to it from dealing with great realities. As in art, so in religion and morals, the artificial degrades and enfeebles, the real ennobles and strengthens the soul. It is a striking evidence of the unequalled greatness of Jesus that his legacy to mankind contains nothing that is factitious. He has left us not his dreams, but his experiences; not his speculations, but his intuitive judgments; not processes, but verities; not a theology merely, but a religion. These are fruitful of thought, quicken the higher emotions, and furnish great moral impulses. They establish man's faith in himself, in the moral and spiritual order, and in God. They enter into the structure of all true character, and constitute the vital principle of righteousness. For the ends of spiritual culture, one truth of Jesus exceeds in worth all the apocalypses that have been dreamed. His gospel, contrasted with the early commentaries and speculations upon it, is as the permanent to the transient, as the divine word to varying human interpretations of it. In what striking contrast does the fruitfulness of the one stand to the dreary barrenness of the other! There is the difference between them that the one is chiefly a religion, and the other chiefly a variety of theologies. The spiritual teacher in communion with God and in fellowship with man — how near is he to us! how apprehensible to thought! how inspiring as an example! But the Messiah on the clouds, the great high-priest, the second Adam, the pre-existent Logos — what remoteness, what inaccessibility, what suggestions of spiritual sterility do these terms convey! The real Jesus, who goes before us in the way of sacrifice



and obedience, inspires our reverence and devotion; and as we follow him we become aware of the divine presence. But the apocalyptic and metaphysical Christs stir in us no sentiment of love and consecration, no fervor of discipleship, and only excite wonder and provoke speculation. Had only these latter been given, or had the attention of men been confined to these products of the evolution of doctrine, there would have been no disciples, no martyrs, and no Christian Church. Did the New Testament portray only these Christs and not also the living Jesus, it were a dead book.

# WOMEN WAGE-EARNERS, THEIR PAST, THEIR PRESENT, AND THEIR FUTURE

BY HELEN CAMPBELL.

## II.

### GENERAL CONDITIONS FOR ENGLISH AND CONTINENTAL WORKERS.

So far as opportunity is concerned, it is the United States only that offers a practically unlimited field to women workers, to whom some four hundred trades and occupations are now open. Comparison with other countries is, however, essential, if we would judge fairly of conditions as a whole; and thus we turn first to that other English-speaking race, and the English worker at home. At once we are faced with the impossibility of gathering much more than surface indications, since in no other country is there any counterpart to our admirable system of investigation and tabulation, each year more and more systematic and thorough. In spite of the fact that factory laws had their birth in England, and that the whole system of child labor—the early horrors of which find record in thousands of pages of special reports from inspectors appointed by government—has been through their means modified and improved, there are, even now, no sources of information as to numbers at work or the characteristics of special industries. The census must be the chief dependence, and here we find the enormous proportions to which the employment of women has attained.

In 1861 these returns gave for England and Wales 1,024,277 women at work. Twenty years later the number had doubled, half a million being found in London alone. This does not include all, since, as Mr. Charles Booth notes in his recent "Labor and Life of the People," many employed women do not return their employments.

Mr. Booth's work is a purely private enterprise, assisted by devoted coworkers, and by trained experts employed at his

own expense. For the final estimate must be added general census returns, and the recent reports on the sweating system in London and other English cities.

Beginning with factory operatives and their interests, nothing is easier than to follow the course of legislation on their behalf. The "Life of Lord Shaftesbury" is, in itself, the history of the movement for the protection of women and children, a movement begun early in the present century and made imperative by the hideous disclosures of oppression and outrage, not only among factory operatives, but the women and children in mining and other industries. Active as were his efforts and those of his colleagues, it is only within a generation that the fruit of their labor is plainly seen. As late as 1844, at the time Engel's notable book on "The Condition of the Working Class in England" appeared, the labor of children of four and five years was still permitted, and women and children alike worked in mines, in brickyards, and other exposed and dangerous employments for the merest pittance. The pages of Engel's book swarm with incidents of individual and class misery; and while he admits fully, in the appendix prepared in 1886, that many of the evils enumerated have disappeared, he adds, that for the mass of workers, "the state of misery and insecurity in which they live now is as low as ever, perhaps lower."

In spite of these facts, the manufacturing system as a whole has been absolutely altered and bettered by the pressure of increasing laws on the subject, till in 1878 came the abrogation of fifteen anterior laws, and the codification of all essential features in "The Factory and Workshop Act," a genuine industrial code in one hundred and seven sections.

Up to this date violation of its provisions had been incessant, but determined enforcement brought about a uniform working day, protection of dangerous machinery, proper ventilation, improved sanitary conditions, an interdict on Sunday labor, and many other reforms in administration. Fourteen years have seen next to no change in the act, and the condition of women and child workers in factories and workshops has come to be regarded as the best that modern systems of production admit. These workers, whose numbers now mount to hundreds of thousands, are a class apart, and for them legislation has accomplished all that legislation

seems able to do in alleviating social miseries. Content with the results achieved, need of further effort in other directions failed of recognition, and apathy became the general condition.

It was during this season of repose that the public mind received first one shock and then another. "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London" appalled all who read, and leaf by leaf the new book of revelations disclosed always deeper depths of misery and want among all workers with the needle,—from the days of the fig leaf the symbol of grinding toil and often hopeless misery.

Not alone from professional agitators, so called, but from philanthropists of every order came the cry for help. The factory and workshop act had not touched home labor. The sweating system, born of modern conditions, had risen unsuspected, and ran riot, not only in East London, but even in back alleys of the sacred west, and in the swarming southwest region beyond London Bridge. The London *Lancet*, the most authoritative medical journal of the world, conservative as it has always been, has at last found that it must join hands with socialist and anarchist, "scientific" or otherwise, with philanthropists of every order, against the new evil and its horrors. Rich and poor alike were involved. The virus of the deadly conditions under which the garments took shape was implanted in every stitch that held them together, and transferred itself to the wearer. Not only from London, but from every city of England, came the same cry, and the public faced suddenly an abyss of misery whose existence had been unknown and unsuspected, and the causes of which seemed inexplicable.

For many months of the year just ended (1892), parliamentary investigation has gone on. Report after report has been made to its committees; and as testimony from accredited sources poured in, incidentally a flood of light has been let in upon many forms of work outside the clothing manufacturer. To-day, in four huge volumes of some thousand pages each, one may read the testimony, heart-sickening in every detail, a noted French political economist, the Comte d'Haussonville, describing it in a recent article in *La Revue des deux Mondes*, as "The Martyrology of English Industries."

In such conditions inspection is inoperative. An army of

inspectors would not suffice where every house represents from one to a dozen workshops under its roof, in each of which sanitary conditions are defied, and the working day made more often fourteen or sixteen hours than twelve. Even for this day, a starvation wage is the rule; the sewing machine operative, for example, while earning a wage of fifteen or eighteen pence, furnishing her own thread and being forced to pay rental on the machine.

A portion of a wage table is given here as illustrative of rates, and used as a reference table before the preparation of Mr. Booth's book, which gives much the same figures:—

Making paper bags, 4 1-2d to 5 1-2d per thousand; possible earnings, 5s to 6s per week.

Button holes, 3d a dozen; possible earnings, 8s a week.

Shirts, 2d each, worker finding her own cotton; can get six done between 8 A. M. and 11 P. M.

Sack sewing, 6d for twenty-five; 8d to 1s 6d per hundred. Possible earnings, 8s per week.

Pill-box making, 9s for thirty-six gross; possible earnings, 8s per week.

Shirt button-hole making, 1d a dozen; can do three or four dozen a day.

Whip making, 1s a dozen; can do a dozen a day.

Trousers finishing, 3d to 5d each, finding one's own cotton; can do four a day.

Shirt-finishing, 3d to 4d a dozen; possible earnings, 6s a week.

Outside of the cities, where the needle is almost the sole refuge of the unskilled worker, every industry is invaded. A recent report as to English nail and chain workers shows hours and general conditions to be almost intolerable, while the wage averages eight pence a day. In the mines, despite steady action concerning them, women are working by hundreds for the same rate. In short, from every quarter comes in repeated testimony that the majority of working Englishwomen are struggling for a livelihood; that a pound a week is a fortune, and that the majority live on a wage below subsistence point.

The enormous influx of foreign population is partly responsible for these conditions, but far less than is popularly supposed; since the Jews, most often accused, are in many cases juster employers than the Christians and suffer from the same causes. For all alike, legislation is powerless to reach certain ingrained evils, and the recent sweating commission ended its report with the words:—



We express the firm hope that the faithful exposure of the evils that we have been called upon to unveil will have the effect of leading capitalists to lend greater attention to the conditions under which work is done, which furnishes the merchandise they demand. When legislation has attained the limit beyond which it can no longer be useful, the amelioration of the condition of workers can result only from the increasing moral sense of those who employ them.

This conclusion, it may be added, is in full accord with that given in the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII., as well as with that of the majority of our most serious workers at home.

During the *Congr s Feministe* held in the autumn of 1892, Madame Vincent, an ardent champion of women wage-earners, presented statistics, chiefly from private sources, showing that out of 19,352,000 artisans in France, there are 4,415,000 women who receive in wages or dividends nearly \$500,000,000 a year. Their wage is much less in proportion to the work they do than that of men, yet they draw thirty-five per cent of the entire sum spent in wages. In Paris alone over 8,000 women are doing business on an independent footing; and of 3,858 suits judged in 1892 by the Workingman's Council, 1,674 concerned women. In spite of these numbers and the abuses known to exist, the Chamber of Deputies has refused practically to extend to women workers the law for the regulation of the conditions of work in workshops. The refusal is disguised under the form of adjournment of the matter, the reason assigned being that the grievances of women are by no means ripe enough for discussion. Women themselves are not at all of the same mind, and the result has already been a move toward definite organization of trades, and united action for all women engaged in them, a step hitherto regarded as impossible. The first effect of this has been a protest from Paris shop girls against the action of the Chamber of Deputies, and the formation of committees whose business will be to enlist the interest and co-operation of women throughout the entire country; a slow process, but one that will mean both education and final release from some, at least, of the worst disabilities now weighting all women workers.

Existence on French soil has come to mean something very different from the facts of a generation ago. Then, with wages hardly above "subsistence point," the thrifty Frenchwoman not only lived, but managed to put by a trifle each month. Wages have risen, but prices have at the same time

advanced. Every article of daily need is at the highest point, sugar, which the London workwoman buys at a penny a pound, being twelve cents a pound in Paris, and flour, milk, eggs—all are equally high. Fuel is so dear that shivering is the law for all save the wealthy, and rents are no less dear, with no "improved dwellings" system to give the most for the scant sum at disposal. Bread and coffee, chiefly chiccory, make one meal; bread alone is the staple of the others, with a bit of meat for Sunday. Hours are frightfully long, the disabilities of the French needleworker being in many points the same as those of her English sister. In short, even skilled labor has many disabilities, the saving fact being that that of the unskilled is in far less proportion than across the channel, the present system of education including many forms of industrial training.

This mere hint of English conditions, full knowledge of which is now accessible in the reports already referred to, is practically that for the continent also. Generations of freer life and many traditions in her favor, give certain advantages to the woman born on French soil. It is taken for granted that she will after marriage share her husband's work or continue her own, and her keen intelligence is relied upon to a degree unknown to other nations. Repeated wars, and the enrollment of all her men for fixed periods of service, have developed the capacity of women in business directions, and they fill every known occupation. The light heartedness of her nation is in her favor, and she has learned thoroughly how to extract the most from every centime. There is none of the hopeless drowsiness and dejection that characterize the lower order of Englishwoman. Trim, tidy, and thrifty, the Frenchwoman faces poverty with a smiling courage that is part of her strength, this look changing often for the older ones into a patience which still holds courage.

Thus far there is no official report of the industries in which they are engaged, and figures must be drawn from unofficial sources. M. Paul Leroy Beaulieu, the noted political economist, in his history of "The Labor of Women in the Nineteenth Century," computes the number of women at work in the manufactories of textile fabrics, cottons, woollen, linen, and silk as nearly one million; and outside of this is the enormous number of lacemakers and general workers in all occupations. There are over a quarter of a

million of these laceworkers, whose wage runs from eighty and ninety centimes to two francs a day; and the rate of payment for Swiss laceworkers is the same.

Passing to Germany, a good two thirds of the women are at work in field or shop or home, the proportion of women in agriculture being larger than in any other country of Europe. Her schools furnish better training than those of any other nation. In all these points Prussia leads, though till recently legislation has been in behalf of child workers, and women have been practically ignored. But factory regulation is minute and extended, and the questions involved in the labor of women, and its bearing on health, longevity, etc., are now coming under consideration. In Silesia, as early as 1868, women were excluded from the salt mines, and the Labor Congress of 1889 brought about many changes of the laws on this point for Belgium and Germany. Italy, in which country industrial education is now receiving much attention, the labor of women, continuous, severe, and underpaid, as it is known to be, finds small mention, save among special students of social questions. Russia has practically no date from which judgment can be formed. In short, it is only in English-speaking countries that really efficient action as to the labor of women has taken place; while even for them the work has but begun, and new and more radical forms will be necessary for any real progress toward final betterment. To this end the labor bureaus of our own country are working diligently; and it is with them that we have next to do, the investigations already made and incorporated in their reports being full of suggestions for future workers.

#### GENERAL CONDITIONS AMONG WAGE-EARNING WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES.

The summary already made of the work of bureaus of labor and their bearing upon women wage-earners, includes some points belonging under this head which it still seemed advisable to leave where they stand. The work of the Massachusetts Bureau gave the keynote, followed by all successors, and thus required full outlining; and it is from that, as well as successors, that general conditions are to be determined. A brief summary of such facts as each state has investigated and reported upon will be given, with the final

showing of the latest and most general report, — that from the United States Bureau of Labor for 1889.

Beginning with New England, and taking state by state in the usual geographical order, that of Maine for 1888 leads. Work here was done by a special commissioner appointed for the purpose, and the chief towns and cities in the state were visited. No occupation was excluded. The foreign element of the state is comparatively small. There is no city in which overcrowding and its results in the tenement-house system are to be found. Factories are numerous, and the bulk of Maine workingwomen are found in them; the canning industry employs hundreds, and all trades have their proportion of workers. For all of them conditions are better in many ways than at almost any other point in New England, many of them living at home and paying but a small proportion of their wages toward the family support.

A large proportion of the factories have boarding-houses attached which are run by a contractor. A full inspection of these was made, and the report pronounces them to be better kept than the ordinary boarding-house, with liberal dietary and comfortable rooms. Many of the women owned their furniture, and had made "homes" out of the narrow quarters. These were the better paid class of workers. Several of the factories have "Relief Associations," in which the employees pay a small sum weekly, which secures them a fixed sum during illness or disability. The conditions, as a whole, in factory life are more nearly those of Massachusetts during the early days of the Lowell mills than can be found elsewhere.

Taking the state as a whole, though the average wage is nearly a dollar less a week than that of Massachusetts, its buying power is somewhat more, from the fact that rents are lower and the conditions of living simpler, though this is true only of remote towns.

Massachusetts follows; and here, as in Maine, there is general complaint that many of the girls live at home, pay little or no board, and thus can take a lower wage than the self-supporting worker. In the large stores employees are hired at the lowest possible figure, and many girls who are working for from \$4 to \$5 per week state that it is impossible to pay for room and board, with even tolerably decent clothing. Hundreds who want pin money do work at a

price impossible to the self-supporting worker, many married women coming under this head; and bitter complaint is made on this point. At the best the wage is at a minimum, and only the most rigid economy renders it possible for the earner to live on it. That there is not greater suffering, reflects all honor on the army of hard-working women, pronounced by the commissioner to be as industrious, moral, and virtuous a class as the community owns.

"Homes" of every order have been established in Boston and in other large towns in the state; and as they give board at the lowest rate, they are filled with girls. They are rigid as to rules and regulations, and not in favor, as a rule, with the majority. A very slight relaxing of lines and more effort to make them cheerful would result in bringing many who now remain outside; but in any case they can reach but a small proportion.

In unskilled labor there is little difference among the workers. All alike are half starved, half clothed, overworked to a frightful degree; the report specifying numbers whose day's work runs from fourteen to sixteen hours, and with neither time to learn some better method of earning a living, or hope enough to spur them on in any new path. This class is found chiefly among sewingwomen on cheap clothing, bags, etc., and there is no present means of reaching them or altering the conditions which surround them.

Connecticut factories are subject to the same general laws as those governing like work in Maine and Massachusetts. Over thirty thousand women and girls are engaged in factory work, and ten thousand children, chiefly girls, women being twenty-five per cent of all employed in factories. Legislation has lessened or abolished altogether some of the worst features of this life, and there are special mills which have won the highest reputation for just dealing and care of every interest of their employees. But the same reasons that affect general conditions for all workers exist here also, and produce the same results, not only in factory labor, but in all other industries open to women. The fact that there are no large cities, and thus little overcrowding in tenements, and that there is home life for a large proportion of the workers, tells in their favor. Factory boarding-houses fairly well kept abound; but the average wage, \$6.50, is a trifle lower than that of Massachusetts, and implies more difficulty



in making ends meet. Many of the worst abuses in child labor arose in Connecticut, and the reports for both 1885 and 1886 state that for both women and children much remains to be done. Clothing here, as elsewhere, is synonymous with overwork and underpay, the wage being below subsistence point; and want of training is often found to be a portion of the reason for these conditions.

In Rhode Island, as in all the New England States, the majority of the factories are in excellent condition, the older ones alone being open to the objections justly made both by employees and the reports of the Labor Bureau. The wage falls below that of Connecticut, while the general conditions of living are practically the same, the statements made as to the first applying with equal force to the last. Manufactures are the chief employment, the largest number of women workers being found in these. Of all of them the commissioner reports: "They work harder and more hours than men, and receive much less pay." \* The fact of no large cities, and thus no slums, is in the worker's favor, but limitations are in all other points sharp and continuous.

New York follows, and for the state at large the same remarks apply at every point. It is New York City in which focuses every evil that hedges about women workers, and in a degree not to be found at any other portion of the country. These will be dealt with in the proper place. The average wage, so far as the state is concerned, gives the same result as those already mentioned. Manufacturing gives large employment, and this is under as favorable conditions as in New England, though the average wage is nearly a dollar less than that of Massachusetts, while expenses are in some ways higher. The incessant tide of foreign labor tends to steadily lower the wage rate, and the struggle for mere subsistence is the fact for most.

In New York City, while there is a large proportion of successful workers, there is an enormous mass of the lowest order. No other city offers so varied a range of employment, and there is none where so large a number are found earning a wage far below the "life limit."

The better paying trades are filled with women who have had some form of training in school or home, or have passed

\* "Third Annual Report of the Commissioner of Industrial Statistics of Rhode Island 1889," p. 22.

from one occupation to another, till that for which they had most aptitude has been determined. That, however, to which all the more helpless turn at once, as the one thing about the doing of which there can be no doubt or difficulty, is the one most overcrowded, most underpaid, and with its scale of payments lessening year by year. The girl too ignorant to reckon figures, too dull witted to learn by observation, takes refuge in sewing in one of its many forms as the one thing possible to all grades of intelligence; often the need of work for older women arises from the death or evil habits of the natural head of the family, and fortunes have sunk to so low an ebb that at times the only clothing left is on the back of the worker, in the last stages of demoralization. Employment in a respectable place thus becomes impossible, and the sole method of securing work is through the middlemen or "sweaters," who ask no questions and require no reference, but make as large a profit as can be wrung from the helplessness and bitter need of those with whom they reckon.

The difficulties to be faced by the woman whose only way of self-support is limited to the needle, whether in machine or hand work, are fourfold: first, her own incompetency must very often head the list, and prevent her from securing first-class work; second, middlemen or sweaters lower the price to starvation point; third, contract work done in prisons or reformatories brings about the same result; and fourth, she is underbid from still another quarter,—that of the country-woman living at home, who takes the work at any price offered.

The report of the New York Bureau of Labor for 1885 contains a mass of evidence so fearful in its character, and demonstrating conditions of life so tragic for the worker, and so shameful on the part of the employer, that general attention was for the time aroused. It is impossible here to make more than this general statement, referring all readers to the report itself for full detail. Thousands herded together in tenement houses, and received a daily wage of from twenty-five to sixty cents, the day's labor being often sixteen hours long. "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London" found its parallel here, nor has there been any diminution of the numbers involved, though at some points conditions have been improved. But the facts recorded in the report are practically

the same to-day, and the income of many workers falls below two dollars a week, from which sum food, clothing, light, fuel, and rent are to be provided for. The sum and essence of every wrong and injustice that can hedge about the worker is found at this point, and remains a problem to every worker among the poor, the solving of which will mean the solution of the whole labor question.

New Jersey reports have from the beginning followed the phases of the labor movement with a keen intelligence and interest. They give general conditions as much the same as those of New York State. The wage rate is but \$5 ; and Newark, especially, a city which is filled with manufacturing establishments of every order, reproduces some of the evil conditions of New York City, though in far less degree. Taking the state as a whole, legislation has done much to protect the worker, and other reforms are persistently urged by the bureau.

## SUICIDES AND MODERN CIVILIZATION.

BY FREDERICK L. HOFFMAN.

"If we read of one man robbed or murdered or killed by accident, or one house burned, or one vessel wrecked, we need never read of another. One is enough. If you are acquainted with the principle, what do you care for a myriad of instances and applications?"

Thus reasons Thoreau in his "Walden," as if the knowledge of a single fact were sufficient to reveal to us the underlying principle. Much to the contrary, the collection and study of a large body of facts of the same order form one of the most important and useful branches of social science, without which it would be impossible for us to have intelligent conceptions of the world we live in.

A single case of murder brought to light would never have led to the establishment of a criminal code, nor would the mere knowledge of a single shipwreck have caused the inauguration of the life-saving service. It is the multitude of facts of the same kind that impress us with their importance, and, in the language of Herschell, "statistics present themselves to us as the basis of social and political dynamics and as the only solid ground on which the truth or falsity of historical or psychological theories can be proved."

A single case of suicide, met with in the news columns of a daily paper, causes rarely so much as a thought of pity or regret; for so accustomed have we become to the sensational and horrible that we pass, even over exceptional cases, with only a sigh; and it is not until the facts are brought before us in their totality and compared with other related phenomena that the seriousness and importance of a subject are brought clearly before our mind. To do this and to present, for the first time, I believe, the statistics of suicide for American states and cities, as far as obtainable, is the object of the present paper.

Excepting Dr. Davis Dewey's essay on "Suicide in New England,"\* I am not aware of any attempt having been made towards a presentation of suicide in the various states and cities of the Union, papers on the subject being usually confined to either statistics of suicide in Europe or to reiter-

\* "Journal of American Statistical Association," vol. viii., p. 158.

ation of the facts in well-known cases of suicide of ancient or modern times, presenting disconnected views of the subject, but no intelligent picture of the full extent of the evil, especially as it prevails in the United States.

Statistics of suicide are obtainable for only a very few of the forty-four states of the Union, but for nearly all of the large cities. Only those states have been included in Table No. I. which possess records for at least twenty years, or four quinquennial periods. The following table presents the statistics of suicide for twenty-five years for four New England states, and for twenty years for one Western state. The data have in all cases been taken from the official records of the registration bureaus, and will not fall much below the actual truth. In Massachusetts, where a board of medical examiners makes rigid inquiry into every case of death by violence, the difference between the registration returns and the returns of the board amounts to about eight per cent. It must therefore be borne in mind that the actual truth is *above*, rather than below, the reported returns.

TABLE I. — *Suicides in Five American States, 1866-1890.*

	MASSACHUSETTS.		VERMONT.		RHODE ISLAND.		CONNECTICUT.		MICHIGAN.	
	Total.	Average for Five Years.	Total.	Average for Five Years.	Total.	Average for Five Years.	Total.	Average for Five Years.	Total.	Average for Five Years.
1866	73		20		11		39			
67	75		24		15		25			
68	88		27		18		20			
69	92		30		15		29			
1870	91	83.8	23	24.8	27	17.2	27	28.0		
71	122		30		19		43		40	
72	117		25		18		36		35	
73	117		27		8		24		39	
74	115		16		18		32		53	
1875	159	126.0	27	25.0	26	17.8	51	37.2	52	43.8
76	119		31		18		39		54	
77	163		32		22		52		66	
78	126		30		21		58		63	
79	161		27		18		66		59	
1880	133	140.0	30	30.0	10	16.8	48	52.6	65	61.4
81	165		30		23		69		57	
82	162		25		31		65		62	
83	167		23		25		60		91	
84	184		28		22		65		104	
1885	176	170.8	38	28.8	20	24.2	81	68.0	91	81.0



TABLE I. — Concluded.

	MASSACHUSETTS.		VERMONT.		RHODE ISLAND.		CONNECTICUT.		MICHIGAN.	
	Total.	Average for Five Years.	Total.	Average for Five Years.	Total.	Average for Five Years.	Total.	Average for Five Years.	Total.	Average for Five Years.
86	149		37		17		82		82	
87	165		25		16		92		105	
88	164		33		21		95		101	
89	175		22		24		80		94	
1890	180	166.0	32	30.1	19	19.4	93	88.4	108	98.0

It would be interesting if we could bring into comparison the returns for New England with those of other sections of the country, especially the South and West; but in the present undeveloped stage of vital statistics in the majority of states, this is impossible. Attempts have been made in that direction in the mortality volumes of the Census of 1870 and 1880, but the results are unsatisfactory, and always will be so until every state and county has a board of health and a bureau of registration.

As will be seen by the table, the returns show a steady and gradual increase in the number of suicides during the last twenty or twenty-five years, which is brought out the more clearly when we compare the returns for one quinquennial period with those of the following. That this increase has not only been absolute in numbers, but also out of proportion to the general increase in the total mortality and population, will be seen at a glance on examination of the next table, which I regret not having been able to make more complete.

TABLE II. — Mortality and Suicide by Five-Year Periods for Four States.

	MASSACHUSETTS.			RHODE ISLAND.*			CONNECTICUT.			MICHIGAN.		
	Total Deaths.	Total Suicides.	Deaths to Suicides.	Total Deaths.	Total Suicides.	Deaths to Suicides.	Total Deaths.	Total Suicides.	Deaths to Suicides.	Total Deaths.	Total Suicides.	Deaths to Suicides.
1861-65	129,688	394	329	15,558	71	219	39,724	140	283			
1866-70	125,395	419	301	19,461	90	216	46,780	186	251	61,847	219	282
1871-75	163,739	630	260	21,796	100	218	49,037	263	186	68,770	307	242
1876-80	162,924	702	232	25,342	111	228	57,856	340	170	87,271	403	215
1881-85	186,075	849	218	30,431	98	311	63,175	442	143	101,390	490	207
1886-90	206,409	907	226									

\* Period 1865-1889.

The ratios in this table have been arrived at by dividing the total mortality of a given period of five years by the total number of suicides recorded during the corresponding period. Since the mortality is recorded annually, we have in the same a more accurate basis than in the decennial census enumeration, or the estimates of the population for intercensal years obtained by the customary formula for calculating the geometrical increase of the population. On examination of the Massachusetts returns, as shown in the first column of Table II., it will be found that there was one suicide to every three hundred and twenty-nine deaths during the first period (1861-1865), which ratio increased from period to period until 1881-1885; since then there has been a slight decline during the last period, due principally to the returns for 1886, when there were but one hundred and forty-nine suicides, to one hundred and seventy-six the year before and one hundred and sixty-five the year immediately following. The returns for the other states present similar conditions, excepting Rhode Island, where there have been but slight fluctuations in the annual and quinquennial returns.

To this exceptional condition prevailing in Rhode Island I shall have occasion to refer again further on. To make absolutely sure of the statement made in the beginning, that there has been an excessive increase in the number of suicides as compared with the increase in the total mortality, I have taken the returns of deaths and suicides for the first period for each state and compared the same with the last period; and as will be found in the percentages of the next table, the percentage of increase in suicides is always in excess of the gain in the total mortality. Rhode Island, to the contrary, shows an increase of nearly ninety-six per cent in total mortality against an increase of only thirty-eight per cent in the total number of suicides.

TABLE III. — *Percentages of Increase in Total Mortality and Suicides.*

	FIRST PERIOD.			SECOND PERIOD.			Per cent of Increase in Mortality.	Per cent of Increase in Suicide.
		Total Deaths.	Suicide.		Total Deaths.	Suicide.		
Massachusetts . . . . .	1861-65	129,685	394	1886-90	205,409	907	50.6	130.0
Rhode Island . . . . .	1865-69	15,558	71	1885-89	30,431	98	95.6	38.0
Connecticut . . . . .	1866-70	39,724	140	1886-90	63,175	442	59.0	216.0
Michigan . . . . .	1871-75	61,847	219	1886-90	101,300	490	63.9	123.8

It is not necessary for me to add any further comment on the last table, since the result is fully in agreement with those of the previous tables; and I shall now proceed to discuss the returns of suicides in the large cities, which furnish the most valuable records on the subject.

The fact is too well known to need reiteration here, that since the beginning of the present century there has been a steady and most extraordinary increase in the population of the larger cities of the country — an increase out of all proportion to the total increase of the population at large. In 1790, when the first census was taken, only 3.35 per cent of the total population were living in cities of over eight thousand inhabitants, against 29.12 per cent in 1890. Out of a total population of about sixty-three millions, more than eighteen millions live in the larger cities.\* In Massachusetts about 70 per cent of the entire population live in cities; in Connecticut, about 50 per cent, and in Rhode Island, nearly 79 per cent. Michigan, in 1890, had 26 per cent of urban population against 16.5 per cent in 1880.

The drift of the country population into the cities is most pronounced in the Eastern states, but the movement is taking place all over the country, from Maine to Oregon; in fact, all over the civilized world. To illustrate the importance of a study of this movement of population in connection with the study of moral statistics, especially those of suicide, I will briefly state the changes in population in the county of Berkshire of Massachusetts in connection with the statistics of suicide for the past thirty years. This county, in the extreme western part of the state, during the thirty-five years from 1855-90 gained 116 per cent in the population of three manufacturing cities, and suffered a decrease of 35 per cent in fifteen of its agricultural towns.† In 1855, according to the state census, 13,500 persons lived in these fifteen towns, decreasing to 8,726 to the year 1890. During the same period the population of the three manufacturing cities increased from 5,175 in 1855 to 11,177 in 1890. According to the last census,‡ out of a total of thirty-two towns in Berkshire County, twenty-four show a decrease in population, while only eight show an increase. This increase

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\* Census Bulletin 52.

† State Board of Agriculture Report, November 1891.

‡ Census Bulletin 24.

was largest in the manufacturing towns of Adams, North Adams, and Pittsfield.

If we now turn to the records of suicide returned for the same county for the same period, it will be found that a most extraordinary change has taken place. During the five years from 1865-70 \* there were only seven suicides recorded, whereas during the five years from 1886-90 forty persons committed self-murder in the same locality. During the ten years from 1870-80 there were thirty suicides, or a ratio of 2.7 per 1,000 deaths; while during the last decade the number increased to seventy-nine, or 5.9 per 1,000 deaths.† In 1865 there was one suicide to every 56,944 inhabitants, against one to every 6,239 in 1890. These preliminary remarks will suffice to make clear the importance of the study of suicide in our large cities, the returns from sixteen of which I am able to present in the following table:—

TABLE IV. — *Suicide in Sixteen American Cities.*

CITY.	Population, 1890.	Mortality, 1890.	Suicides, 1890.	Deaths to One Suicide.	Inhabitants to One Suicide.
San Francisco, Cal.	298,997	5,378	79	68	3,784
St. Louis, Mo. . .	451,770	8,681	98	88.5	4,610
† Chicago, Ill. . .	1,099,850	21,856	206	106	5,339
Cincinnati, O. . .	296,908	6,441	53	121.1	5,602
§ Washington, D. C.	230,392	2,934	21	139.7	7,366
Cleveland, O. . .	261,353	5,058	32	158	8,167
Newark, N. J. . .	181,830	4,629	29	159.6	6,270
New York, N. Y. . .	1,515,301	40,103	239	167.8	6,340
Detroit, Mich. . .	205,876	4,037	21	192.2	9,803
‡ § New Orleans, La.	242,039	6,075	30	202.5	5,912
Boston, Mass. . .	448,477	10,181	50	203.6	8,969
Brooklyn, N. Y. . .	806,343	19,827	94	210.9	8,578
Philadelphia, Penn.	1,046,964	21,732	80	271	13,087
Pittsburgh, Penn. .	238,617	6,230	20	311.5	11,931
Baltimore, Md. . .	434,439	10,198	25	407.9	17,377
Providence, R. I. .	132,146	2,877	6	479.5	22,024

In this table I have included the census returns of population for 1890, and given the ratio of suicides to population as well as to the total mortality. I have arranged the cities according to propensity to suicide, as shown by the ratios based on the total mortality; but as will be seen, there would

\* I do not possess the earlier records.

† Registration Report, 1890, p. 379-80.

‡ Mortality and suicides for 1889.

§ Mortality and suicides of white population only.

be substantially the same result if I had chosen the other method.

In the aggregate the table presents a record of more than *one thousand* suicides in sixteen cities during a single year. If we were able to ascertain the number of those cases which fail to be recorded, as well as the number of attempts at suicide, the army of those who seek in suicide relief from earthly troubles would assume alarming proportions. In New York City two hundred and thirty-nine suicides were recorded during the year 1890, and in the sister city of the West over two hundred cases were registered the year before. For San Francisco we find a record of some ninety cases, which, based on the mortality, shows that there is one suicide to every sixty-eight deaths, the highest ratio on record for any American city.\*

St. Louis makes return for ninety-eight voluntary deaths, being one to every 88.5 of the total mortality, while for Washington, D.C., the ratio is one to 139.7, one of the highest on record, although in total numbers the returns fall considerably below those of other cities of equal size. Providence, R.I., occupies the last place in the table, having the lowest ratio of suicides to the population, as well as to mortality; yet Rhode Island is the most densely populated state of the Union, having an urban population of 78.89 per cent.

For the purpose of making more plain the frightful extent of what has been called a "social malady," I give a statement of the annual returns for twenty years for six of the larger cities of the country, presenting a total of over *seven thousand* cases. For New York City alone this total reaches the enormous number of three thousand five hundred and seventy for twenty years, being more than one half of the total returns for the six cities embraced in the next table.

TABLE V. — *Suicides in Six Leading Cities for Twenty Years.*

YEAR.	New York.	Boston.	Providence.	Philadelphia.	Baltimore.	Cincinnati.
1871 .	114	26	9	41	6	18
72 .	144	29	7	48	9	26
73 .	118	32	4	47	24	25
74 .	180	25	10	59	20	31
75 .	155	45	12	68	21	34

\* Of these, ten were those of Mongolians.



TABLE V.—Concluded.

YEAR.	New York.	Boston.	Providence.	Philadelphia.	Baltimore.	Cincinnati.
1876 .	150	37	10	60	15	34
77 .	148	39	12	59	19	37
78 .	142	34	7	40	21	45
79 .	117	36	6	51	15	37
80 .	152	40	2	68	18	35
81 .	166	42	14	62	23	41
82 .	199	38	12	77	30	46
83 .	161	42	15	95	26	39
84 .	229	46	11	89	20	46
85 .	207	41	6	78	28	44
86 .	223	42	7	90	31	46
87 .	235	51	7	88	43	33
88 .	247	37	9	94	35	52
89 .	244	42	10	104	32	40
90 .	239	50	6	80	25	53

Philadelphia returns some fourteen hundred cases, which form about one fifth of the total; while for Providence the returns are less than two hundred, or about nine per annum for twenty years. By five-year periods, as shown in the following table, the alarming increase in suicide in our large cities becomes still more plain:—

TABLE VI.—Comparison of the Increase of the Total Mortality and Suicide by Five and Ten Year Periods.

	TOTAL SUICIDES.				DEATHS TO ONE SUICIDE.				Per cent of Increase of Mortality, 1880- 90, over 1870-80.	Per cent of Increase in Suicide, 1880-90, over 1870-80.
	1871- 1875.	1876- 1880.	1881- 1885.	1886- 1890.	1871- 1875.	1876- 1880.	1881- 1885.	1886- 1890.		
New York .	711	709	902	1,188	208	201	188	165	29.8	52.1
Philadelphia.	263	278	401	456	315	302	252	229	23.3	66.7
Boston .	157	186	209	222	247	210	224	225	24.5	25.6
Baltimore .	80	88	127	166	465	429	343	270	17.6	74.4
Cincinnati .	134	188	216	224	197	135	141	138	16.9	36.6
Providence .	42	37	58	39	202	268	192	334	31.4	22.8

We have here the suicides for four periods of five years each, and the ratios of the same to the total mortality for the same number of periods. They are in almost perfect agree-

ment with the returns for the states, as shown in Table III., and, with the exception of Providence, show an increase in the number of suicides in excess of the proportionate increase in the general mortality. For New York City the increase in the total mortality during the second period of ten years, over the first decade, is equal to about thirty per cent against an increase of over fifty-two per cent in the total number of suicides. For Philadelphia and Baltimore the increase has been still greater, being the highest for the latter city, where during the last five years the number of suicides has been double that of the first quinquennial period. On the other hand, the increase in total mortality has been less for Baltimore than for any other city, excepting Cincinnati, which city shows the highest ratio of suicides to the total number of deaths during the period 1886-90. Providence holds the same position as in previous tables. Many more deductions might be made from these tables, but I will leave that to those who wish to investigate the subject further.

While these tables are far from being complete presentations of statistics of suicide of the country, they are sufficient to show that the general law of suicide as laid down by Quetelet, Buckle, Morselli, and others, "that in a given state of society a given number of persons *must* put an end to their lives," applies to this country as well as to the state of Europe; and the question is natural as to what are the causes that bring about the voluntary destruction of thousands and tens of thousands of men and women who seek the ignoble grave of a *felo de se*.

In the plain but impressive language of statistics we have here before us a picture of the darkest side of modern life. Whatever the causes are that produce such frightful conditions, this much is certain, that something must be radically wrong in a society when thousands are *compelled* to put an end to their own existence. Is it the individual member or the social organism that is to blame?

Writers on the subject, from Quetelet to Morselli, show little agreement as to the probable causes of what Morselli calls a "social disease." Quetelet gave it as his opinion that "the offences of men are the result, not so much of their own vices, as of the state of society into which that individual is thrown." \* Esquirol, Falret, Bourdin, Dr. Winslow, and

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\* Buckle, "Civilization in England," vol. i., p. 22.

others, hold that suicide is always evidence of insanity. Lecky, in his "European Morals," speaks of the idea of suicide in modern times as, "being almost always found to have sprung, either from absolute insanity, from diseases which, though not amounting to insanity, are yet sufficient to discolor our judgment, or from that last excess of sorrow when resignation and hope are both extinct."\* The majority of more recent writers on the subject, especially Dr. Morselli, hold "that just as madness may go on without any attempt at suicide, so the suicidal determination may be formed in the healthiest mind, which then carries it out with the coolness inspired by the most perfect logic."†

Dr. Matthews expresses the opinion "that the most powerful influence leading to suicide is civilization," and "that self-killing is emphatically the crime of intellectual peoples." He adds further "that no act of a man's life can be shown to be more coolly and rationally planned than is generally the act of leaving it."‡

The writers on the subject may be divided into two classes — those who relieve the individual from all responsibility and consider him the unfortunate victim of a mad impulse, and those who, opposed to the idea of insanity, hold that suicide is the direct product of the will, coolly planned and carried into effect as a logical conclusion. A third class of writers, according to circumstance, consider suicide either an act of madness or a crime.

In support of the theory of madness and its relation to self-murder, there is an imposing array of statistical evidence relating to the general increase in insanity all over the civilized world. While it is true that on this point as well opinions differ, the majority of well-informed and competent statisticians affirm that the increase in insanity is absolute as well as relative. A few instances will suffice to prove that there has been a considerable increase in insanity in this country as well as in Europe.

According to the last report of the Massachusetts Lunacy Commission, there were in 1870 in that state, supported in state institutions, 1,962 insane, or one to every 743 inhabitants. During the decade 1870-80, this number increased to

\* "European Morals," vol. II., p. 63.

† Morselli, "Suicide," p. 272.

‡ *North American Review*, April, 1899.

3,123, or one to every 570 of population, increasing during the following period to 4,653 in the year 1890, or one insane person to every 481 of total population.

The Irish census returns for 1891 show that while there was one insane to every 657 of population in 1851, one to every 328 in 1871, there was one to every 222 inhabitants in the census year 1891.

England and Wales in 1890 contained about 75,000 lunatics, against some 61,000 in 1880 and 38,000 in 1860.

New York state institutions in 1880 contained 4,211 insane persons, while in 1890 there were reported to be 7,505 of these unfortunates.\* The four asylums in the state of Connecticut reported 715 inmates in 1881 against 1501 in 1889.† Other states make similar returns, but are omitted for want of space.

If it be argued that these data may be defective or misleading on account of a more careful enumeration in recent years or a more extended use of state institutions, such objections can easily be silenced by an examination of the mortuary records showing deaths due to insanity. For this purpose I have compiled the following two tables, which show, first, the total mortality by five-year periods; second, the quinquennial number of deaths due to insanity, as well as the corresponding ratio for the same based on the total mortality; third, the returns and ratios for the suicides occurring during the same periods. The two most reliable sources of information have been selected, to secure the utmost accuracy in support of my statement.

TABLE VII.—*Comparison of the Increase in Deaths Due to Insanity and Suicide with the Increase in the Total Mortality.*

TABLE A.—MASSACHUSETTS, 1861-90.

PERIODS.	Total Mortality.	Deaths from Insanity.	Ratio to Mortality.	Deaths from Suicide.	Ratio to Mortality.
1861-65 . .	129,685	329	395	394	329
1866-70 . .	125,395	498	352	419	301
1871-75 . .	163,739	498	329	630	260
1876-80 . .	162,924	670	243	702	232
1881-85 . .	186,075	819	227	849	218
1886-90 . .	205,409	902	228	907	226

\* Report, State Board of Charities, 1891. Royce, "Race Education," vol. I., p. 24.

† Census Bulletin, 62.

TABLE VII. — Concluded.

TABLE B. — NEW YORK CITY, 1866-90.

PERIODS.	Total Mortality.	Deaths from Insanity.	Ratio to Mortality.	Deaths from Suicide.	Ratio to Mortality.
1866-70 . .	128,205	187	685	437	293
1871-75 . .	148,143	280	529	711	208
1876-80 . .	142,642	346	412	709	201
1881-85 . .	181,275	569	318	962	189
1886-90 . .	196,241	1,045	188	1,188	165

Whatever our opinion may be as regards the nature or causes of suicide, its intimate relation to madness cannot be denied. While it is very true that there are countries where there prevails a high rate of insanity with no corresponding propensity to suicide, like Ireland, for instance, it is equally true, and this statement is supported by fact, that wherever there is a high ratio of suicide there will be found an equal propensity towards madness. Morselli has shown, by a table compiled from the English registration returns of deaths due to suicide, apoplexy, paralysis, madness, epilepsy, and other cerebral diseases, that there is a close relation between suicide and the morbid conditions of the brain; \* and we have ample material in this country to prove the assertion that not only suicide and insanity, but all the other various diseases of the brain, are on an increase out of all proportion to the general increase in the morbidity and mortality at large. The following table, compiled from the latest Massachusetts returns, will show at a glance the alarming and frightful increase in deaths due to brain disease as well as suicide.

TABLE VIII. — *Comparison of the Increase in Deaths Due to Brain Disease and Suicide with the Increase in the Total Mortality.*

MASSACHUSETTS, 1861-90.

PERIODS.	Total Mortality.	Deaths from Brain Disease.	Ratio to Mortality.	Deaths from Suicide.	Ratio to Mortality.
1861-65 . .	129,685	8,468	15.3	394	329
1866-70 . .	125,395	9,699	12.9	419	301
1871-75 . .	163,739	13,057	12.5	630	260
1876-80 . .	162,924	14,495	11.2	702	232
1881-85 . .	186,075	17,873	10.4	849	218
1886-90 . .	205,409	21,325	9.6	907	226

\* Morselli, "Suicide," p. 293.



In proportion to the total population, the number of suicides is exceedingly small, and would not deserve the import attached to its occurrence were it not that a study of related phenomena made clear and indisputable the connection between suicide, madness, and crime. As it has well been said by the great Italian authority, "In proportion to the number of individuals who take part in the struggle for life, that of the suicides and mad is comparatively small; but it must not be forgotten that the greater part of the conquered pays a corresponding tribute to early death, indigence, emigration, to crime, prostitution, and to physical infirmities." A total of nine hundred and seven suicides for five years may seem a matter of small importance for a state like Massachusetts; but when we add the twenty-one thousand deaths due to brain disease, the matter changes into one of the most serious nature a society can have to concern itself about. There are no means by which we can state in figures the total amount of misery and vice prevailing in a given community at any given period of time; but a careful study of statistics of marriage and divorce, illegitimacy and infantile mortality, pauperism and crime, foreclosure and evictions, drunkenness and arrest for vagrancy, will convince even the most pronounced optimist that the world of to-day is far from being what it ought to be, and, what is more, far from being what it *could be*. The forces that bring about conditions that, in the language of Carlyle, "neither heaven nor earth can justify," are the same and sole causes of suicide and madness.

The editor of THE ARENA has asked the question, "Are we really a prosperous people?" In the face of all the misery, vice, and want of modern life, may we not ask another question, "Are we really a happy people?" We have heard of late much about the danger of foreign influence, the pauper labor of Europe, the danger of immigration, etc.; it may interest some to compare the American statistics of suicide with those of some European states, for which purpose I have constructed the following table from the works of Morselli and Dr. Dewey. This table gives for a number of periods the suicides per million for nine European and four New England states.

TABLE IX.—*Comparison of the Increase in Suicides in certain European States with Four New England States.*

Ratio per million inhabitants.

	1856-60.	1861-65.	1866-70.	1871-75.	1876-80.	1881-85.
<i>Europe.*</i>						
Sweden . . . .	57	76	85	81		
Norway . . . .	94	85	76	73		
Denmark . . . .	276	288	277	258		
England . . . .	65	66	67	66		
Ireland . . . .		14	15	18		
Prussia . . . .	123	122	142	134		
Saxony . . . .	245	264	297	299		
France . . . .	110	124	135	150		
Italy . . . .		28	30	35		
<i>America.†</i>						
Massachusetts . .	79.9	62.9	60.6	80.0	81.1	90.9
Connecticut . . .	60.6	45.9	54.6	66.2	86.6	103.3
Rhode Island . .	54.2	56.5	83.5	73.5	62.7	82.1
Vermont . . . .			76.2	74.9	90.4	86.7

While Morselli's table does not cover the entire period, Dr. Dewey's table extends from 1856 to 1885; and as will be seen on examination of the ratios, there has been a steady and gradual approach of suicides in this country towards the higher ratios prevailing in Europe. It will surprise many to find that suicides are more frequent to-day in New England than in the old England of only twenty years ago.

The study of statistics of suicide, madness, and crime is one of the utmost importance to any society when such abnormal conditions are on the increase. When such an increase has been proved to exist, it is the duty of society to leave nothing undone until the evil has been checked or been brought under control. That cannot be a healthy society, progressive and civilized, where there is a growing disregard for life and its duties. It is the *health* of the people that ought to come, and in a higher civilization *will come*, before the wealth of the people. If these statistics of suicide and madness prove anything, they prove beyond a doubt that somewhere our social organism is diseased, that something is wrong with our boasted civilization, which permits to exist, or directly causes to exist, conditions that annually drive thousands of men and women to self-murder or into the mad-house.

\* Morselli, "Suicide" (Am. ed.), p. 22.

† Dewey. Jour. Am. Statistical Ass. vol. viii, p. 163.

If it be true "that the things that are seen are of less importance than the things that are not seen," suicide furnishes an admirable illustration of the proverb. There is no malady of modern life that strikes more deeply into the very root of our civilization than self-murder, and a thorough inquiry into its nature and causes reveals the most serious defect of our so-called civilization.

If it be true, as Cardinal Gibbons asserts, "that the economic conditions of this country are fast approaching those of Europe," \* and further, as has been stated by another writer, "that what is called society in this country imitates to the extent of its ability English society, which gives every evidence of being the most corrupt on earth," † it is an evil sign of the times when we find that suicide and madness are rapidly approaching European conditions—in fact, in many instances, already equal and even exceed them.

Civilization is defined by Matthew Arnold as "the humanization of man in society, the satisfaction for him in society of the true laws of human nature." ‡

We must be far from being truly civilized as long as we permit to exist, or accept as inevitable, conditions which year after year drive an increasing army of unfortunates to madness, crime, or suicide. It is *not* civilization, but the want of it, that is the cause of such conditions. It is the diseased notion of modern life—almost equal to being a religious conviction—that material advancement and prosperity are the end, the aim, and general purpose of human life; that religion and morality, art and science, education and recreation, are all subordinate to one all-absorbing aim, the struggle for wealth. To this unhealthy condition of modern society is due the majority of cases of suicide, madness, and premature death. It is the struggle of the masses against the classes. The former fall victims in the struggle for life and for the absolute necessities; the latter fall victims to their own iniquity, responsible for their own as well as the miserable fate of their victims. It has been well said by Guizot "that society and civilization are still in their childhood; that what we have before us is incomparably, infinitely greater." At least, let us hope so; but in words equally

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\* *North American Review*, April, 1890.

† "An Ounce of Prevention," by Jacobus.

‡ "Civilization in America."

true and prophetic, an American writer warns us "that false is the not otherwise conclusion that uninterrupted progress of the race for all future time is a certainty." "It is not easy," adds Dr. Ely, "always to read aright the lessons of human history; but plain and clear and unquestioned do the annals of the past reveal a power which makes for righteousness, call it what we will, passes judgment on the nations of the earth, and *dooms those to decay and destruction which have ceased to help onward the growth of mankind.*"\*

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\* "Labor Movement in America," pp. 222, 223.

## HOW TO INTRODUCE THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

BY W. D. MCCrackan, A. M.

IF we would solve the social problem in peace, let us look to our methods of legislation while there is yet time. The list of needed reforms is so long, and the means of introducing them so poor and inefficient, that men are losing patience. The people are weary of that profitless playing with vital problems in which our legislators indulge; they are disgusted with that periodic, unmeaning, meandering up and down the gamut of great questions, which is palmed off upon them as lawmaking. They cry aloud for some prompt, business-like action on the part of their representatives. They want direct legislation. For if there be a political prophecy which it is safe to make at this time, it is that our representative system cannot remain in its present form for another decade, if the republic is to endure.

The distance between the voter and the final act of legislation is so great that his expressed will is frittered away before it accomplishes its object. There are too many stages in the process, too many middlemen, too many cooks to spoil the broth. In that uncertain, vague, middle ground between the people and their laws, a permanent source of corruption has arisen — the lobby. It is a veritable Third House, more efficient than its companions, the two constitutional Houses, working secretly, unremittingly, and without scruple for evil ends.

It is this predicament of ours which has led the writer to seek advice and inspiration in a quarter which is at length beginning to rivet the attention of American reformers.

The institutions of the Initiative and Referendum, as practised in Switzerland, are the noblest political achievements of this waning century. They are capable of supplying our decaying democracy with the powers necessary for its redemption. They are the final perfected contrivances of modern direct government.



The Initiative may be defined as the exercise of the right of a body of voters to *initiate* proposals for the enactment of new laws or for the alteration or abolition of existing laws. The Referendum is an institution by virtue of which laws and resolutions, framed by legislatures, are *referred* to the voters for final acceptance or rejection. The Initiative is in vogue in fourteen out of the twenty-two Swiss cantons, the Referendum in twenty-one. Both institutions are now applicable to Federal matters, so that they cannot be said to be any longer in an experimental stage. They have become fixtures in Switzerland.\*

In the Massachusetts town meetings, for example, the right of voters to propose legislation themselves, and to pass verdict upon bills coming before the meeting, has never been questioned. There the Initiative and Referendum have been in force from the beginning of our national history, although unnamed and unnoticed. The principle of direct legislation is, therefore, no new-fangled, foreign importation, but is just as much at home on the New England coast as in the valleys of the Swiss Alps. The provisions for constitutional conventions which obtain in most of our States, are all types of the Referendum, however imperfect may be their working powers. Mr. Sullivan also assures us that methods resembling the Initiative and Referendum are much used in carrying on the affairs of various trade-unions, and it is certain that in one form or another the people of the United States are more often directly consulted than one would at first imagine.

But all expressions of the popular will are still spasmodic, given to unaccountable vagaries, and easily turned to profit by watchful politicians. There are no steady, unswerving demands which legislators are bound to weigh and pass judgment upon. Petitions there are in great number, it is true; but they are from their very nature only requests, proffered like polite prayers to unlistening despots. A word spoken at some hotel bar, a jest in the lobby, a little transaction with greenbacks, have more influence than the written desire of ten thousand sovereign citizens.

It is sometimes urged that our presidential elections serve

\* Nor are the Initiative and Referendum, in a rudimentary form, altogether foreign to our own body politic. In his admirable little book on "Direct Legislation," Mr. J. W. Sullivan points out several cases where the underlying principles of these institutions receive application in the United States.

the purpose of general appeal to the people. What need of the Referendum, some say, when voters have a chance of defining their position every four years regularly?

One need only examine carefully the issues at stake in any campaign to appreciate the error of this view.

There is never a choice of principles, pure and simple, in a presidential election. The merits of persons and parties are far more prominent. The real issues are never exposed to the voter in their simplicity, for it is the business of politicians to confuse him, to distract his attention from what is vital, and fix it upon catching non-essentials. The rival parties are engaged in playing with each other for certain stakes.

Has there ever been a time under our representative system when a citizen could cast his ballot without fear of being tricked out of its true meaning? The Referendum would make it possible for him to register a definite "yes" or "no" to a particular measure. It would sweep away the unknown quantities in legislation. There is no confusion in a simple assent or dissent to a proposition, bereft of the perplexing adjuncts of personalities or party loyalty.

All the objections made against direct government, by means of the Initiative and Referendum, are based on distrust of the people at large.

The authority of legislatures would be weakened, their importance diminished, was the criticism commonly made in Switzerland at one time. A member of the Executive Council, speaking before the Federal Assembly in 1882, expressed himself as follows in regard to the Referendum:—

"In calling upon the people to pronounce a final judgment upon the work of their representatives, the sense of parliamentary responsibility has been weakened. Less work is done to-day in Bern because it is said that the people cover the faults and errors of their representatives by tacit or express acceptance; if a law proves bad in application, they can only blame themselves."

In reality, the practical working of the Referendum has not weakened the sense of parliamentary responsibility; for a flood of criticism is now poured upon all acts of the Federal Assembly, and every voter is obliged to examine these acts for himself, in order to render an intelligent verdict. What has, in truth, been weakened, is the arbitrary

power of the Federal Assembly — a blessed consummation indeed. May the time be near when our own Congress can be weakened in that sense !

As for the Initiative, the provisions which are in force in Switzerland would keep it from developing objectionable features here also. Only propositions accompanied by a certain number of legally certified signatures would be accepted for consideration by legislatures.

Now, taking it for granted that the Initiative and Referendum are desirable institutions, how can they be introduced into the United States — or, rather, how can the rudimentary forms in which they already exist amongst us be stimulated to sturdy growth ?

For the first, all traces of direct government, wherever found, ought to be carefully preserved or modified to suit modern conditions, and not ruthlessly swept away as antiquated. Instead of transforming the Massachusetts towns into ordinary municipalities, for instance, as is the tendency of the day, citizens living under the new form of government ought to retain the right of proposing legislation directly, as of old, and of passing final judgment upon measures by ballot. This result could be obtained through the Initiative and Referendum. The essence of the town meeting would be preserved, and its practical working made to conform to modern needs.

To be permanent, these institutions must grow from small beginnings, and not be superimposed full-fledged upon the people. In this respect, the example of Switzerland is invaluable ; for there the Initiative and Referendum have made their way, during the last sixty years, from imperfect experiments to mature systems, penetrating from one canton to another, until they invaded the domain of Federal government itself.

The introduction ought to begin in the smallest political unit — in the town, county, or parish. Thence direct government could be readily extended to state matters, and, when it had safely weathered these first stages, to Federal affairs. It might be wiser to try a limited or optional Referendum first, which would apply perhaps only to financial measures. After that, the compulsory Referendum could be introduced, as the people learned to appreciate its advantages. The Initiative would naturally come somewhat later ; the agitation

for its introduction could be carried on while the Referendum was going through its initial trials. But growth by experiment must characterize any successful application of either institution.

Professor A. V. Dicey, the English constitutional author, wrote an article to the *Contemporary Review* for April, 1890, entitled, "Ought the Referendum to be Introduced into England?" He was somewhat timid in his conclusion as to the advisability of making this introduction, but he outlined four methods by which the Referendum could be used in England, for constitutional amendments at least. The first two do not concern us, because they involve action by the House of Lords and the Queen. The third and fourth methods are, however, suggestive.

Professor Dicey proposes: "Thirdly, Parliament might insert in any important act (such, for example, as any statute for the repeal or modification of the Act of Union with Ireland) the provision that the act should not come into force unless and until, within six months of its passing, a vote of the electors throughout the United Kingdom had been taken, and a majority of the voters had voted in favor of the act.

"Fourthly, a general act might be passed containing two main provisions: first, that the act itself should not come into force until sanctioned by such a vote of the electors of the United Kingdom as already mentioned; and secondly, that no future enactment affecting certain subjects — e. g., the position of the Crown, the constitution of either House of Parliament, or any part of either of the Acts of Union — should come into force, or have any effect, until sanctioned by such vote as aforesaid of the electors of the United Kingdom."

To apply these methods to our own government: Congress might either attach riders to important bills, making their final passage into laws dependent upon their acceptance by the electorate, or might pass a special law, instituting the Referendum outright for measures of general interest, like tariff bills, etc.

In regard to the Initiative, Mr. J. M. Vincent sketches an admirable plan in his "State and Federal Government in Switzerland." He thinks it would be well to have state law require that when a petition, signed by a sufficient number

of qualified voters, whose signatures have been attested by a notary or clerk of court, is placed before the legislature, it must be considered and a bill submitted to popular vote within a given limit. "Such petitions," he suggests, "should reach a legislature through some standing office of the state, either the Secretary of State, or some bureau established by the Assembly for the purpose, and not depend on the whims, or even the good wishes, of any member for the time of their presentation."\*

In any case, the nation which invented the caucus and the platform, which by the exercise of political ingenuity has brought the lobby to a state of disreputable perfection, need not shrink from attacking the problem of the Initiative and Referendum. If there be a better way, an American way, of securing direct legislation, let us discover and make it our own.

At all events, we must have done once for all with this farce of legislation, in which the people are alternately duped and balked by cliques conspiring for sordid infamies. Making laws by means of all-powerful representatives will some day be looked upon as a method fully as crude and primitive as that of letter-writing by means of scribes on the street corners. The will of the people can now be registered at headquarters, by means of modern inventions, with a precision unknown in the days of stage-coach and courier.

As for the rest, a great world tendency has set in definitely towards the exercise of popular rights at first hand. All the efforts of the privileged classes to block this advance can only serve to intensify the catastrophes their obstinacy may entail. It was an English military administrator in India, Sir Charles James Napier, who wrote in his work on Colonization: "As to government, all discontent springs from unjust treatment. Idiots talk of agitation; there is but one in existence, and that is *injustice*. The cure for discontent is to find out where the shoe pinches, and ease it. If you hang an agitator, and leave the injustice, instead of punishing a villain, you murder a patriot."

Then let there be free speech, an infinite toleration, and a sense of human brotherhood in our councils.

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\* Mr. Nathan Cree, in his recent book on "Direct Legislation," has elaborated another method which is original and suggestive.



## RAILWAY TARIFFS.

BY JAMES L. COWLES.

THE following statistics and facts, relative to railroad transportation and to railroad tariffs, ought, it seems to me, to command the thoughtful consideration of every American and especially of every New Englander; for New England is far away from the sources whence she derives the materials of her principal industries, and she is equally distant from the markets in which she sells the most of her finished products. To New England the question of tariffs, custom tariffs and railway tariffs, is all important.

There were engaged in the public service on the railroads of the United States, in the year 1890, more than 1,100,000 freight cars. The earnings of these cars for that year were \$714,464,277, received for the transportation of 636,514,617 tons of freight. Now, these appear to be large figures; but when we come to consider the work actually done by each one of these 1,100,000 freight cars, and the work of which these same cars are capable, their appearances change. The average earnings of each freight car engaged in the service of the people of the United States in 1890 were less than \$630 per year, less than \$13 per week, hardly more than \$2 per day; and the average amount of work done by each car was in the same meagre proportions — less than 600 tons for the year, less than 2 tons per day.

The average daily movement of each car was less than 30 miles, and the average number of hours of movement was less than 2 hours out of the 24. Four days out of 5, each of these cars, on the average, lay idle; and when they moved, the average load of the loaded cars was but 10 tons per car, or 175.12 tons per train. The average haul per ton was less than 120 miles. The 58,241 freight cars of the New England roads, owned and leased, transported, during the year 1890, 41,247,486 tons of freight, for which service the railroad managers charged the public \$39,833,947.

Each New England freight car earned on an average about

\$700 per year, less than \$14 per week, less than \$2.50 per day. And each one of these New England freight cars transported on an average less than 720 tons of freight per year, less than 14 tons of freight per week, less than 3 tons of freight per day. This negligence of our (private) railway managers to make a proper use of their freight equipment has resulted in a waste of capital in useless freight cars, estimated to amount to over \$124,000,000, with an interest account of at least \$5,000,000. "The cost of maintenance of this [idle] equipment is about \$10,000,000 a year, to say nothing of the cost of track room to hold them, locomotives to move them, and the other minor yet necessary expenses which their existence involves."— *W. W. Wheatley*.

Now, this may be a satisfactory condition of things to our railway rulers; but I submit that if ordinary business was carried on in this way, the majority of our business men would be in a state of chronic bankruptcy.

If our railroad companies are at all prosperous, it must be because the transportation taxes levied upon the public are far higher than would be necessary under reasonable railway management.

Professor Hadley says that "on any line where a good canal can run, a railroad can handle a net train load of 600 tons, at a direct expense for fuel, train men, and train repairs [that is, for haulage], of not over forty cents per mile, and sometimes as low as thirty cents, or from 1-20 to 1-15 of a cent per ton per mile."

That is to say, the cost of the haulage of a net train load of 600 tons, over nearly all the railroads of the United States, for the average haul of 120 miles, is not over \$48, or *eight cents per ton per haul*; for New England, with an average haul of 70 miles, the cost of haulage of a net train load of 600 tons is not over \$28, or less than *five cents per ton per haul*.

This being true—and the statement of Professor Hadley is sustained by the best European writers on railroads—it is no wonder that President Haines, of the American Railway Association (representing 120,000 miles of railway), declared, in his opening address before that association, on the 14th of October, 1891, that, "Though we hear much of the average rate per ton per mile and per passenger per mile, as also of the cost of transportation per ton mile

and per passenger mile, it would be *difficult to point out its use in the practical operation of a railway.*" "The ton mile and the passenger mile are statistical abstractions, and not the units by which the price of transportation is fixed." "The *local* passenger rate per mile is lost sight of when *competition* or *commutation* or *excursions* are to be considered, and the *rate per ton per mile* is the *last thing thought of in making freight tariffs.*" "The entrance of a single passenger to a train adds *nothing* to the cost of moving that train, and the *cost* of transporting a single passenger (or a single ton of freight) is therefore *inappreciable.*" "The objection to the ton-mile basis" is that it is "fallacious, misleading, untrue, and without practical value to the railroad superintendent or traffic manager." "And the unit of cost per passenger mile is as fallacious and valueless as the unit per ton mile." "A passenger does not measure his desire to get to a place by the number of miles that he must travel to reach it; and whether he goes fifty or sixty miles,—yes, whether he goes one mile or a thousand miles,—it *costs the same* to carry him, if the train be scheduled for the longer distance, and there be room for him;" and in practice there will always be room for him. "This idea of rate for distance does not prevail in making freight rates." "What the freight agent wants is *loaded cars*; and that is what should be sought for by the passenger agent." To all of which I say, *Amen.* If, however, distance is no longer a factor in the cost of railway transportation worthy of consideration, as Professor Hadley and President Haines both bear witness, and if the present ton-mile, passenger-mile basis of railway rates is "fallacious, misleading, untrue, and without practical value to the railroad superintendent or traffic manager," as President Haines declares it to be, then, it seems to me, it would be well to abolish this fallacious, valueless system, and to adopt in its stead the rational, life-giving postal system, of so much per ton per haul, and so much per passenger per trip, irrespective of distance.

The only possible objection that can be offered to the adoption of this system is that the rate required to provide the revenues necessary for the operation of the railroads, and for the payment of a reasonable interest on the cost of their construction, would be too great for the shortest distances. I propose to prove, however, that under a fair management of

our railroads (and especially if the railroads were consolidated under one management), the very lowest freight rate now charged between any two stations, on any line of road in the country, would be large enough, if adopted for the common rate, regardless of distance, to provide an ample revenue to pay all the legitimate expenses connected with the freight business in our railroad system. We had, as I have already stated, over 1,100,000 freight cars in our public railroad service in 1890. (This does not include cars employed in the service of the railroads, neither does it include some 70,000 freight cars belonging to private shippers.)

Now, if those 1,100,000 freight cars had made but two hauls of merchandise per week (100 hauls for the year instead of 73 hauls), at \$7 per car, the earnings of the freight cars of the United States would have been over \$770,000,000, nearly \$60,000,000 more than was actually earned in 1890, under our present irrational, unjust, ton-mile rate system. With three hauls of merchandise per week, 150 hauls per year (and surely freight cars ought to be kept at work three days out of seven), a rate of \$5 per car would have produced a freight revenue of over \$825,000,000, \$110,000,000 more than the actual earnings of 1890.

Granting, however, that it is only possible to get two paying hauls out of a freight car in a week, even then with an average car load of twelve tons, (the actual load transported in 1890 is estimated at ten tons), a rate of sixty cents per ton per haul, irrespective of classification, would have provided a much larger freight revenue than was earned in 1890. A fair classification, however, would, I believe, have admitted of as low a rate as twenty-five cents per ton per haul, irrespective of distance, for minerals and products of that class transported in open cars, and of one dollar per ton per haul for general merchandise. But with these low freight rates secured by law to every individual and to every locality, with the system of rebates abolished, and discriminations done away with, freight cars would hardly travel over the country, as they have done and as they are doing, half empty. Nor would freight locomotives travel with the meagre average load of 175 tons in the country at large, and 122 tons in New England. On the other hand, the average car load would probably increase to fifteen or twenty tons, and the average train load would increase to 500 or 600 tons.

throughout our whole railroad system. And what is true of freight and freight trains, is equally true of passengers and of passenger trains.

The average number of passengers in the average train of the country, in 1890, was but forty-one, less than two-thirds the capacity of an ordinary passenger car; and in thickly settled New England it was but sixty-two, still less than the full seating capacity of single passenger cars. But the capacity of an ordinary passenger locomotive on the average road can hardly be less than seven cars, with a seating capacity of 476 passengers — more than ten times the average passenger locomotive load of the country, and more than seven times the average passenger locomotive load of New England. But not only are our passenger cars and our passenger locomotives run with loads far below their capacity; there is also the same fault to be found with regard to the number of runs both of the passenger locomotive and of the freight locomotive.

The average mileage of the passenger engines of the United States is hardly more than 100 miles per day, and of freight engines less than 90 miles; and in New England neither the passenger nor the freight engines average over 90 miles, less than four hours' fair work per day. With anything like a reasonable use of railroad equipment, and with a reasonable classification of passenger rates, a *five-cent fare per trip* on way trains, irrespective of distance, would, I am very certain, furnish an ample revenue for the proportion of expenses chargeable to way business.

And for express trains the same life-giving postal principle is equally applicable. Make the through fare the same as that between the two nearest stations at which the train stops. Are the stops a fourth as frequent as on way trains? Then let the fare on the ordinary car of the express be four times that on the way train, or twenty cents instead of five cents; and let the rate for those who use parlor cars be four times that charged the ordinary passenger. The parlor coach weighs about twice as much as the ordinary coach, and it costs about twice as much money, while it carries hardly more than half as many passengers. It is, therefore, no more than just that the individual who travels "*en prince*" should pay his share of the expense. The rate, irrespective of distance, on Pullman express running between Boston and New



York, and making say four stops, might be reduced one half, viz. to three dollars; and on the ordinary express, ordinary car, running between Boston and New York, a fifty-cent rate would, I believe, be found amply remunerative; a dollar ought to be enough for the highest fare, for the longest trip by ordinary car, on the fastest express of the country.

If, as Professor Hadley says, wherever a canal can run, a railroad can handle a net train load of 600 tons for forty cents a mile, and sometimes for thirty cents, then the cost for haulage of such a train from Boston to San Francisco is but from \$900 to \$1,200, \$1.50 to \$2 per ton of freight; and the average passenger does not weigh a tenth of a ton, and it certainly does not cost more than half as much to haul a passenger as it does to haul a ton of freight.

The *live weight* (the passengers) on a full loaded passenger train is hardly more of a burden to a passenger locomotive than is a fly on the back of an elephant. The forty-one passengers on the average passenger train of this country weigh perhaps two tons. The dead weight of the train is at least a hundred tons, and it is probably nearer a hundred and fifty tons. The difference in cost between hauling a freight train of 600 tons and one of fifty tons is estimated at about twenty-five cents a mile.

The difference in the cost of hauling an empty passenger train and a loaded train can hardly be more than twenty-five cents a mile. The thing that costs, and what the people of this country are paying for, is the haulage of freight cars and freight trains, passenger cars and passenger trains, *that are not half loaded, and interest and repairs in equipment, not half the time in use*; and one of the causes, I think the principal cause, for this waste of our substance, is our miserable ton-mile, passenger-mile system of railway rates, with its discriminations in favor of some individuals and against others, in favor of the town and against the country, and with its exorbitant charges.

No man in the United States who goes to the great exposition next summer on an ordinary passenger car ought to be compelled to pay more than a dollar for his railroad ticket. There would certainly be no occasion for a higher fare if only the railroads were combined under one management, and run in the common interest under such a system of railway rates as I have advocated. Even under the present chaotic condition

of our railroad system, a dollar fare to Chicago during the coming summer would, I believe, pay the railroads and pay them well, if only the different systems would work in harmony. It is to be remembered that an average fare per trip of less than fifty-three cents, taking in the whole railroad system of the country, and an average fare of less than thirty cents, sufficed to provide the passenger revenues of the country and of New England in 1890; and the average freight charge in the country during that year was but \$1.06, and in New England it was less than ninety-six cents.

Now, in view of these facts, and in view of these other facts, viz., that probably over fifty millions of dollars' worth of passes are issued annually, while enormous rebates continue to be granted to favored trusts and combinations (in six months of 1861, Swift & Co., one of the great beef shipping firms of Chicago, received \$30,000 in rebates from the Nickelplate road alone, and George and John Firmenisch, glucose manufacturers of Iowa, received \$8,000 in rebates from the same road in the same period) — in view of these facts, I think I am fully justified in the belief that under a rational, harmonious system of railroad management throughout the country (assuming the past system and the rebate system abolished), the railway rates I have suggested would be amply sufficient not only to provide for all current expenses, and for interest on the cost of the construction of our railroads, but also to furnish an ample fund for such an extension of the system as the country may from time to time demand.

If, however, additional revenue seemed necessary, there would still be opportunity for obtaining it by charging a small rate for each piece of baggage placed in a baggage car. Ten cents a piece would not be burdensome on the people, and it is only fair that those who travel with baggage should pay for its transportation. The problem of problems before the American people is the "railroad problem." The railroads are the circulating system of the body politic. They must be run in the common interest.

## SOME ECONOMICAL FEATURES OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

BY TESSA L. KELSO.

THAT the advancement of the public-library system has not kept pace with other educational movements in the last twenty years, is due to several causes. The character of the institution refuses to adapt itself to machine politics, and the consequence has been a universal belittling policy, and a determined opposition to the granting of funds for the support of public libraries, since expenditures could not be made to serve political ends; and the apportionment of funds being optional, the city council or governing board has taken care that the smallest possible amount is allowed. In addition to this, the system has been weighed down by the professional and traditional impedimenta; there has been a lack of method and of helpful organization; mechanical devices are too often cumbersome and expensive, due to need of comparative investigation.

The work of the library association has accomplished much improvement, but has not developed library principles or original experiments, having confined its work in a large measure to methods of cataloguing and indexing, on the hypothesis that the public must be kept from direct access to the books. Library architecture has been discussed and has been developed with the same object in view. Administrative questions have had very little serious and systematic consideration, despite the fact that, as libraries grow in size, the expenditures for books steadily decrease and administrative expenses increase, until in the case of the larger libraries the book expenditures are but one fourth of the total resources. The extravagance resulting from experimental duplication in finances and methods could be vastly lessened by greater comparative consideration.

In addition to these drawbacks, there has not been a full appreciation of the highest function of the public library of to-day, which lies in its power to add to the fast-diminishing store of human pleasure, to be a means of overcoming the

intemperance of work. Librarians have assisted the misunderstanding by constantly deprecating the reading of fiction or any literature that might be read for amusement, the aim being to report a decrease in the percentage of "light reading" from year to year, and this insistence against fiction has furnished a weapon to be used against the support of public libraries.

The objective aim has been to supply the needs of the student, the one person who, by the virtue of his title, is least to be considered; since to the student books are his working materials, and he seldom depends on the resources of a public library. The endeavor to fix the standard of usefulness by means of this minority has created a strife in which the real capacity of the library remains almost undeveloped. With the constantly increasing financial resources, individual experimentation, and a growing independence of tradition, the time is coming for the enlargement of some of its social and economical possibilities.

The philosophers and thinkers long since recognized and called attention to the fact that, in the struggle for profit and position, the finer consciousness and value of individual life were lowered, and the elements of happiness, pleasure, and amusement were diminished; and every institution capable of adding to such a fund should be fostered and encouraged to its full capacity.

A new social danger has developed in the last twenty years in the crowding of life in few centres, the abandonment of farms and farm life, and the ensuing congestion in cities. The cause is admittedly in the lack of relaxation, the want of opportunity for intellectual improvement, and of such amusement as rural life might afford. Efforts towards a cure have resulted in the annual expenditure of millions for charities, both public and private. Hospitals, jails, reformatories, have been increased in the cities, but there has been astonishingly little done to counteract the cause at its inception. England has in a slight measure undertaken the work, and the "people's palaces" are the result of the effort; but the American public does not take kindly to charity thus applied, and it is worth considering what institutions may be developed, under our system of taxation, to increase the rational proportion between work and relaxation.

The most logical centre of such possibilities is a public

library. The dignity and power of books in the concrete is a lever to move the mass. The roughest "hoodlum" will lower his voice and take off his hat on entering a real public library; for it represents to his understanding that by some process he is owner here of a valuable tangible property, and has a full share in its privileges in common with the highest or richest. To be able to establish the realization of responsibility reduces the problem immeasurably, and no church or other institution has the power. Yet at this very point the most serious opposition to the library system has been developed, on the score that a library offered a loafing-place for all the idlers in a city; but if the library did no more than become the recognized loafing-centre of a city, its existence on that basis would be warranted.

Our present state of society does not provide work for all men and women, and without work there are no homes; still the activity of being does not cease, and there must be space found for the body somewhere, and a whole community is physically safer when the loafer, be he chronic or otherwise, is sitting with a book before him in an atmosphere and surroundings of wholesomeness. When the extent of this usefulness is better realized, every employment office and corner loafing-place will contain an invitation to the library; loaf at the library if need be.

It is to be regretted that almost universally this very opportunity for developing usefulness and influence has been discouraged, and all sorts of obstacles, under the guise of safeguards, have been devised to separate the books from the people, to lessen the responsibility of ownership, and frown upon any use of books except for serious purposes. So far has this been carried out, that there are not five large public libraries in the United States that admit the public directly to the book shelves.

To steal a book seems a species of crime not to be treated by ordinary methods of precaution and punishment; and more money and energy are expended in one year for guarding books from possible loss in a library than would pay for the real loss in many years, with the exercise of no more care than any merchant uses in the transaction of his business. When the public have had reason to feel the ownership in a public library that is said to be theirs, the danger is still further reduced. The outcome of this policy has



been the undue prominence given to catalogues; the whole library edifice has come to be regarded as resting on this foundation, when, as a matter of fact, a catalogue at its best is an unreliable, misleading, uninteresting, and minor influence considered as an agent in the enlargement of the scope of practical usefulness. Catalogues have been forced into the place of intelligent human guides, who would in some measure have mitigated the mooted loss incurred in the handling of books; and they have brought about a mechanical system in many large libraries that results in complete stagnation.

The mission of the library is more important than the mere circulation of books; it should be the direct power to cultivate and foster the intellectual and material advance of its community. Interest in national and local questions, artistic, political, industrial, should promptly be taken advantage of, and books and newspaper clippings, illustrations, laid before the public, who by this means are furnished with collated, unbiased data, and saved expensive individual experiments.

A city adopting a street-improvement system should have for guidance the result of experiments made, not years ago, but the week before, and should expect to look to the library to collect and arrange such materials for reference. By posting lists of plays, scores, comparative criticism, illustrations, biographies, and historical information in the anticipation of a coming dramatic or musical event, the library creates an opportunity for the development of appreciation and culture of a high order in the use of books.

Parents, teachers, and librarians are continually holding endless discussions as to how to curtail the reading of estimated trashy and flabby literature; but the question of what is to take the place as a recreation is left to solve itself. What is to be done with the boy in a crowded city, when the books are taken from him on the ground of being only amusing? Let the library meet the demand for the hundreds and thousands of volumes of this style of literature, with a proportionate number of sets of tennis, croquet, foot-balls, base-balls, indoor games, magic lanterns, and the whole paraphernalia of healthy, wholesome amusement that is quite as much out of reach of the average boy and girl as are books, and there will be a material addition to the library member-

ship and a corresponding decrease of "petty offenders." In combination with such a distribution is the library ownership of playgrounds. Almost the only extension of the library has been in the direction of "branches," universally cumbersome and expensive, repeating and emphasizing the faults of the central institution. The delivery system from one main stock has been adopted in a limited way, but its admirable qualifications are being more generally recognized. However, its greatest influence for good must be in its adoption in connection with country libraries; and when this means of distributing, to the most remote farm, the advantages of learning, culture, and amusement that cluster about a well-equipped public library, then will the ambition of the farm-bred boy and girl to live in the city be modified. With reasonable postal regulations, country libraries will as easily extend their usefulness as the city institutions. A better understanding and broader spirit would have taken place in the library system, if even a small portion of the lavish expenditures of the government Bureau of Education had been directed to this important division of education.

The public-library movement has not been officially recognized or encouraged, save in one or two instances due to personal interest and exertion by the head of the department. The congressional library has never, in any way, fulfilled its mission as a national library to the country at large; and in the one library where the bibliographical and cataloguing features might have been carried to their highest and fullest conception, for the assistance and guidance of every library, it has been thought a matter of pride that indexes and aids to books were unnecessary, "since one man knew the entire contents of the library."

To such a policy is due the great waste of money and energy in library administration, in the expensive duplication of work and material.

The purchase by the Boston Public Library of the Columbus letter, for the sum of fourteen thousand dollars, shows the extreme of a municipal library in incurring expense only warranted by a national institution.

There is need of a readjustment in estimating the capabilities of a collection of books, placed in the hands of the people, and serving as a nucleus for additions in any direction that tends to increase intelligence and happiness.

## THE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS OF THE NETHERLANDS.

BY MYRA A. DOOLY.

My father has for the last twenty-one years been engaged in city missionary work in New York and Albany. In this way I have become acquainted in many of the homes of poverty in our great cities, and have always been interested in the needs of children.

I feel that the most satisfactory labor is to be done among the children. Every one who knows anything about the ultimate conditions of the poor, the thriftless, and the dissipated has some slight idea of what the prospects of a child born and reared under these conditions are. On the other hand, when we consider that by wisely ordered and well-directed efforts these miserable creatures of circumstances may be reclaimed, and made useful, self-respecting members of society, we ask ourselves, Why has not this work received the attention and prayers of the thoughtful Christian people in our own country, as it has in many European countries?

Spending five months in the Netherlands, I had ample time to study into the Christian national institution of that country, the Neerbosch Orphan Home, and, returning home by way of Scotland, some of the Scottish homes at Glasgow, and learning what I could of their methods.

Mr. Vantlindenhout, a remarkable man, is the founder and director of the homes of Neerbosch. From his childhood, though a boy in poor circumstances himself, he had a desire to help, if spared, the orphans of his own country. When a young man he became a colporter and an evangelist. Travelling from town to town, he had seen notices pinned to the church doors that a certain number of homeless children would be brought to the church at such an hour by the poor master, and any of the villagers desiring to purchase or adopt these children should be there at a designated time; and in this way places were found for many children.

The fact that they were disposed of was not enough for Mr. Vantlindhout. In speaking of this to a friend, the friend argued they have homes now, and so he set to work to find out what sort of homes these were. As a rule no education was given them, and the heaviest of the housework was invariably thrust upon them. No love was given them, so his heart was more and more filled with a desire to help the orphans.

Engaging a large house in the town of Nymegen, he moved there with his family; and upon his friend asking him why he had taken so large a house, he answered that he intended taking into his home as many orphans as the Lord would give him means to provide for. Some laughed, some ridiculed, and others promised to help him. In a few days a couple of tables, a large chest, and two little iron bedsteads had been sent in to furnish the first room. That was the beginning of the work which soon reached national dimensions. Little by little money was sent in from most unexpected sources to provide for one more orphan, until the old house in Nymegen was full to overflowing. Mr. Vantlindhout had given up his own work, and devoted his time to his children, depending upon the Lord for putting it into the hearts of his servants to send money for their support. He himself told me that many a time he had gone to rest at night not having a morsel of food in the house or money to buy any, but he said, "The Lord provided then, as he has always done since." Sixty-five boys and girls were now in the home. Mr. Vantlindhout let it be known through the papers that he must have larger quarters. Straightway a friend deeded to him a large tract of land two miles from the town, which was most thankfully accepted. This was in January, 1866, and by March all the money that had been received for building purposes was about one hundred dollars. With that small sum they began to buy stone and wood, which was carried to the site of the new home. The matter was treated as a great joke by the papers, and hundreds of people flocked to the place on the Sabbath day, and, looking at the pile of wood and stone, declared their children would not be living to see the completion of the work. Just as the money came in, the material was purchased and laborers were hired, and by October the building was completed.

As I said, he had few supporters at the beginning. It has

been said that the Dutch people are slow but sure; so when they were once awakened to the fact that this work was a grand one, they came forward right nobly to the support of it, and have stood by it ever since and will always do so. This institution is not carried on under the cottage system; it is decidedly institutional, but its marvellous success is due to the excellent industrial training which is given. The boys may choose whichever trade they have a desire to learn — cabinet-making, carpentry, masonry, printing and bookbinding, tailoring, shoemaking, farming and gardening; and the girls are taught dressmaking and housework of every kind. They are obliged to stick to this trade; are not allowed to leave the home until they are thoroughly equipped.

There are thirty buildings on the ground, many of which were built by the boys of the institution. The church was erected in 1881, and is one of the finest in Holland. The interior is plainly but prettily finished in light oak, and will seat over a thousand. Here the thousand children now living at the institution are gathered every Sabbath day for worship. A specialty has been made in the direction of printing and bookbinding. A regular weekly newspaper is issued from the institution, and of course all the work is performed by the boys. This paper, by the way, has an enormous circulation throughout Holland. The institution also issues a monthly magazine called *The Friend of the Home*. It is often illustrated by wood cuts and engravings, the work for which is all done here. Yearly almanacs, prettily bound, are sent out to all the friends of the institution. Thousands of scripture calendars are also issued annually. Indeed, it is safe to say that one could not enter a Christian home in all Holland where he would not find, hanging in a conspicuous place in the living room, the Neerbosch calendar. Besides these there are Sunday-school papers supplied for churches at a distance, programmes for entertainments, Bibles, tracts, and books of all kinds. In connection with the printing establishment is a large bookbindery, and a shop where the making of wood cuts and engravings is done. Carpenters' and cabinet-making shops are in a way connected. In one they make tables, chairs, and closets, which are sent to the other to receive the finishing touches. It seems almost marvellous to me to see the beautiful chairs, hanging shelves, finely



finished book-cases, fancy tables, and solid bedroom and parlor furniture of all kinds — in fact, everything that one sees in any well-ordered shop of the kind in our own country.

Wooden shoes are worn by the children week days, but on Sunday they wear leather boots. The making of the boots and shoes is learned to perfection by the boys, who turn out most admirable work. They have also a large farm where the boys are taught the art of agriculture, and the girls the making of butter and cheese. Though all the children are trained at the trades, still their education is not neglected, and they have certain hours to attend school and also for private study. At the school sessions the children sing from the translated editions of Moody and Sankey's hymns; and the Dutch language, which may seem inharmonious as we see it written, seemed almost beautiful when the sweet voices of the children were raised in praise to God. Special attention is given to the study of music. They have a well-trained band at the orphanage. The Neerbosch band is a great treat about Holland at public gatherings, concerts, etc.

The physical culture of the children is not neglected, and several of the older boys, who are proficient in gymnastics, are instructors of the younger ones.

Children are received into this home between the ages of one and twenty-two years, and are thoroughly trained before leaving; then when they are old enough, situations are provided for them. To have been trained at Neerbosch is recommendation enough. Many young men, who were once Neerbosch boys, now hold offices of responsibility and trust in the large warehouses in America and other cities. It can be readily seen that outside of these facts their work is a financial help to the institution. Many orders are filled by these boys for large furnishing houses in the cities.

Mr. Vantlindhout now has behind him a board of directors, and he receives a salary, as do all his helpers. His son Jacob is a great help to him, and will eventually take his father's place. Another son has charge of the bookbindery and printing department. Mrs. Vantlindhout superintends the girls' department, attending to the distribution of clothing, etc., and is a very capable woman. Besides the family itself, there are a large number of assistants and instructors employed. Several years ago, King William conferred the order of knighthood upon Mr. Vantlindhout for the great

service which the king considered this man has rendered his country.

The Scottish homes, in my mind, solved the problem whether the cottage system is a wise and effectual one or not. Mr. William Quarrier, the superintendent of these homes, has been rightly termed the Miller of Scotland. He is doing a most excellent work, which deserves special notice. In a sense Mr. Quarrier himself was a child of misfortune, and one of the most pathetic incidents he relates of his childhood is of his standing, when a boy of eight years, in the broad thoroughfare of the high street, Glasgow, bare-headed, bare footed, cold and hungry, having tasted no food for a day and a half. It was probably these early struggles which helped to mould him for the years of toil that followed; and even while he was yet a young man he determined, if spared, to do something to alleviate the hard lot of the children of poverty. Twenty-eight years ago Mr. Quarrier began his work; returning home one night in November, 1864, he relates that he met a little, ragged fellow on the street crying bitterly because some one had stolen his stock in trade. This might seem but a small thing, but to it the orphan homes of Scotland owe their bread. The work was on a small scale, and what was then known as a Shoeblack Brigade was formed, and for seven years Mr. Quarrier continued to help the newsboys and shoeblacks of the city to a better life; but while thus engaged, he says: "I was led to see that something more was needed to help them more effectually, and to bring more of home and family influence to bear upon their lives; and again I longed for the establishment of an orphanage home for Scotland." He committed the subject to God in prayer, and announced through the papers that he wanted from five to ten thousand dollars. However it may seem to others, Mr. Quarrier accepted this as a call from a higher power, and he has carried this conviction throughout all his work since. I have a friend who was living in Scotland at this time, who tells me that Mr. Quarrier was not an object of praise. He met with considerable opposition and not a little ridicule, as the newspapers spoke of him as "crazy Will"; but his splendid home for waifs and the dregs of society in the city of Glasgow, his magnificent orphanage homes at the Bridge of Wier, and the hundreds of children he annually reclaims

from the streets and slums and rescues from the poorhouses and reformatories, long ago convinced a nation that W. Quarrier was not a fanatic or dreamer. His work now stands unique in Great Britain, and will, from its very beginning, bear microscopic inspection; against its conduct not the faintest whisper, not even by priests or men envious of his success, has ever been heard.

Before giving an account of the work of these homes, it might be well to remark on the monetary aspect of Mr. Quarrier's operations. He asks no man for anything, and accepts no restrictions with money subscribed to any department of his work. Those sending him money are requested to state whether it is to be applied to the homes, or emigration schemes, building funds, or to the department of the children; but beyond that he exercises full control of its administration. He has no board of directors, no committee on ways and means. He accepts no endowments. A few years ago he refused forty thousand dollars for one of his peculiar reasons.

There are at present forty-four buildings situated at the Bridge of Wier, a journey of one-half hour by rail from Glasgow. The cost of these was six hundred thousand dollars, and more cottages are being erected. Children from the age of one to sixteen will be in each cottage. Several years ago Mr. Quarrier found they were in need of a church, and said to a friend on the street, "We are still in need of a church." "How much will it cost?" asked the friend. "Twenty-five thousand dollars," was the reply. "Get your plans prepared and I will secure the money." The splendid church, with its symmetrical spire, its chimes, and deep-toned bell, forms one of the features of the village.

Having many incurable boys brought to the home, Mr. Quarrier saw the need of a home for them. A lady offered to give him fifteen thousand dollars for the building as a birthday thank-offering for her husband; and to-day this lovely home is fitted up for the reception of weak and suffering boys, and is a haven of rest for the weary body as well as the place where many lose the burden of sin. A good school has recently been erected, and is a bright monument to the memory of a loved one, also an expression of practical sympathy on the part of a generous donor who supplied thirty thousand dollars for the school.

The system of teaching boys trades is much the same as in the Dutch homes, and where one has a predisposition to a sea life and the physical ability for such an occupation he is placed on board the *James Arthur*, where the training is complete. The *James Arthur* is as trustworthy as any ship that ever sailed the Atlantic, and is situated in the northern part of the village imbedded in a bed of concrete.

Does not the simplicity of this work appeal to the sympathy of thoughtful Americans? If there could be a home combining the industrial training of the Dutch Home with that of the family system at the Bridge of Wier, would it not be a grand thing, and do not our children need it as much as the children of the Netherlands and Scotland? When we consider the discouragement which attended the beginning of these homes, we need not be discouraged by the careless indifference of many and by the hatred and malice of others. Should we not, in view of the abounding sin and misery around, and the habit of strong drink, hear the Master's words with increasing faith "Be ye steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord; for as much as ye know that your labor is not in vain in the Lord."

## THE BROTHERHOOD OF CHRISTIAN UNITY.

BY THEODORE F. SEWARD.

MR. LOUIS R. ERICH informs me that he was moved to write his article "A Religion for All Time" by reading the first number of *Christian Unity*, a small quarterly journal which is printed in the interest of the "Brotherhood of Christian Unity." As his article crystallizes so remarkably the spirit which is rising in the hearts of men, a spirit which is evidently soon to take possession of the world, it will doubtless interest the readers of THE ARENA to hear something of the Brotherhood movement from the one at whose suggestion it came into existence.

Its genesis had its source in an experience of my childhood. The village in which I lived (Florida, N. Y.) was rent asunder by a little warfare between the old and the new factions of the Presbyterian church. In seeing, as I grew older, the absurdity as well as the wickedness of fighting over doctrines which no human being can understand, I gained an object lesson for life. The early impression was afterward confirmed by my experience in the musical profession. As organist of churches in different denominations (in whose Christian work I always took an active part), I was led to see that in all the essentials they were at one, the divisions growing entirely out of secondary and non-essential elements.

Many other experiences confirmed this truth, but it was not till my fifty-seventh year that it produced any practical result. In April, 1891, I made a suggestion at a union meeting in Orange, N. J., to this effect: No violent change can or ought to be made in the status of churches or denominations; but cannot a larger circle be formed on the basis of the two great commandments—love to God and love to man? Suppose we start a society to be called the Brotherhood of Christian Unity, which all can join for practical work without interfering with their individual beliefs or



their church relationships. The only requirement for membership will be the signing of a pledge like the following :—

I hereby agree to accept the creed promulgated by the Founder of Christianity — love to God and love to man — as the rule of my life. I also agree to recognize as fellow-Christians and members of the Brotherhood of Christian Unity all who accept this creed and Jesus Christ as their leader.

I join this brotherhood with the hope that such a voluntary association and fellowship with Christians of every faith will deepen my spiritual life and bring me into more helpful relations with my fellow-men.

Promising to accept Jesus Christ as my leader means that I intend to study His character with a desire to be imbued with His Spirit, to imitate His example, and to be guided by His precepts.

The response to this suggestion was most extraordinary. Letters of approval came from representatives of all denominations, orthodox, heterodox, and other-dox. Very many non-church members also wrote to express their happiness in the opportunity thus afforded to show their faith in Christianity without committing themselves to any formulated church creed. The poet Whittier signed the pledge, and wrote, "For years I have been desirous of a movement for uniting all Christians with no other creed or pledge than a simple recognition of Christ as our leader." Phillips Brooks wrote, "I am glad to express my interest in your good work, and wish it all success."

There are many indications that the Brotherhood has sprung into existence at the right moment. Various side-currents are flowing in the same direction, and seem naturally to coalesce with and enlarge the central stream.

The World's Parliament of Religions, to be held next September for seventeen days, in connection with the Columbian exposition, will give an added impetus to the movement. It is a striking conjunction of events: a meeting of representatives of all the historic religions of the world, and a society which supplies a medium for curing the one vital weakness of Christianity — its divisions.

Mr. Erich in his article objects to the name "Brotherhood of Christian Unity." In conversation with him I find that he wishes some title which would attract and admit any person desiring to serve mankind, whether Christian, Mohammedan, or pagan. This is undoubtedly the ultimate ideal; but it is a question to be most earnestly considered whether, taken in its true sense, such a society can by any possibility be otherwise than Christian. Mr. Erich's treatise is one of

the noblest pleas for the prevalence of the Christ spirit I have ever read. It assumes throughout that the Christ spirit will be the inspiration for all loving service, whether rendered by Christian, Mohammedan, or pagan. Will it not then be far better to work under the Christian name, inasmuch as the evils and falsities of the past are now being so rapidly eliminated from the Christian faith? I feel very strongly that this is the wise and true course. We do not rebel against the atmosphere because it is sometimes charged with noxious vapors. Mohammedans, pagans — all the millions of earth's children — will come eagerly into the great Christian brotherhood just as fast as it becomes really Christian.

But one point has lately become clear to me — the pledge should be simplified. In fact, there should not be a pledge at all. Nothing is needed but an expression of the purpose to become a member of the society; such an expression as will involve a recognition of the fact that it is based upon the law of love and service, under the inspiration of the life and teachings of Jesus. Signing the name to such a formula will not be signing a pledge, but merely the act of joining a brotherhood whose spirit and purpose are expressed in the sentence to which the name is affixed.

I shall be surprised if Mr. Erich's treatise does not make a profound impression. It may almost be regarded as an epoch-making word; yet in reality it is rather a fruit of the epoch which is already upon us. It is a product of the same true spirit which created the Brotherhood of Christian Unity. Let us hope that there will not be two movements, but only one for gathering the children of men under one banner of love and mutual service.

## PRACTICAL THEOSOPHY.

KATE BUFFINGTON DAVIS.

IN the popular mind there is great questioning of what there is practical in the new old cult known as "Theosophy." While many are fascinated with the phenomena promised by a study of the occult, and the scientific mind is held in thrall with the magnificent presentation of the Cosmogensis and Anthropogenesis outlined in the Secret Doctrine, and the delight of the philosophic thinker, as he enters through theosophy into the realm of metaphysics, attract each in turn, still there is a vast majority who say, "What is there practical in this, that constitutes a help in the present hour, and in the trials of daily, commonplace existence?"

The ethics of theosophy are a guidance and a help for our every need; for it is practical theosophy to be tolerant, faithful, patient, gentle — in one word selfless — in thought and deed; to feel, even in this age of competition, that one has no personal competitor, striving against nothing save ignorance and selfishness, holding ever in mind that every man is a brother, and that our greatest privilege in life is to be mutually sustaining and uplifting.

It is practical theosophy to dominate passions that serve the selfishness of our undeveloped humanity, as well as the brutal passions of lust, drunkenness, and gluttony pertaining to our animal nature; for it is the more refined faults that are the most seductive, as the selfish ambition that glories in the envy of our fellows and leads, through greed, domination, and unjust striving, only to the filling with tinsel and glitter and false adulation a passing hour of time, or that subtle error that marks the egotism of our own limitations, — intolerance. What a temptation lies hidden in the desire to dominate the mind of man, to bind our perceptions as chains upon the souls of brothers, who after all are children of the same divine Father, and are all our brothers, possessing in their natures the same heritage in development, related to the same Creative wisdom, and each according to the law fulfilling some causal necessity in nature.

Theosophy teaches that man is himself a key wherewith to unlock the door of universal wisdom. If man would know himself, in the true sense of selfhood, he would know God. That is to say, the real selfhood of man is of divine origin, and to "acquaint thyself with God" one must search diligently after that spiritual verity in their own nature that relates the soul to the Father. When Christ was asked when the kingdom of God should come, he answered, "The kingdom of God is within you." Therefore study not the symbols of the world so earnestly as to neglect the inner wisdom, that develops as we love right doing more than all seeming.

Theosophy is practical in losing from man's mind the shackles of fear. It makes plain the universality of law, that suffering and sin are the results of ignorance; and that man needs fear only the darkness of his own limitations. The order of God is toward perfectness and fearlessness in the seeking of truth, and the *living the truth* is the pathway up to God. Knowledge of truth is the light on the path, but the living of the measure of righteousness we know is the progress. Intellectual perception, like a sign post, points the way, but we must travel the path, no matter how rugged, if we would find the kingdom.

To be a practical theosophist is to know every claim made, through need or suffering upon us, has a right to relief we can render; that we are here to serve one another, and to grow through serving. Theosophy points the unity of humanity, and emphasizes the sympathy and service we owe every fellow-creature, as our life lines cross. It makes plain the eternal justice acting through the universal law of cause and effect, showing the why of human suffering and the inequalities of life; proving this phase of life to be only a transient hour in the great system of life through which the immortal principle must travel; thus it enables man to endure bravely, suffer wisely, and illumine every dark hour with the wisdom of his immortality.

On its material side theosophy is eminently practical, giving those who seek, *and who are morally qualified to be the custodians of such great powers*, a knowledge of the resources of nature, which, through comparison, renders the wisdom of our western science mere child's play. In literature theosophy represents the thought of the world. It

opens to view, with its accumulated treasures, the civilizations of the past, and gives us the analysis of the present.

Everything that elevates or aids mankind, if it is only the singing of a ballad to lighten another's toil, is theosophic. One principle of development is summed up in this command: "Fulfil all the duties, answer all the honest calls of the life you are now living; be true to all men and the light you now have; then will greater wisdom be your heritage."

Practical theosophy affects every hour of life; it is not sufficient to control actions only; we must stand guard constantly over thought; to think purely, to know no evil, is to progress spiritually. The ready recognition of another's faults and failings indicates a correspondence in our own soul to like error. Knowledge is relative, and "to the pure all things are pure." Whosoever criticises another or attributes a sin to fellow-man is only revealing to the wise the dark places within the soul of the accuser. A theosophic saying is, "A wicked man is one whom the law puts to more severe tests than myself. When I see one who commits great wrongs, I hear in my heart that mediæval cry, 'Make way for the justice of God.' To be unjust is in itself the greatest punishment. When the law passes judgment upon man, its justice is injustice avenging itself upon its creator." As the Scripture has it, "With what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again." Instead of condemning, it is theosophic to meditate, "In my brother's place I might do worse."

Theosophy is practical because it frees from form and dogma the old, yet ever new, truth; so we pass from "the letter that killeth" into communion with the spirit that giveth life. It brings us again to the *living* of the principles that the Christ and the Buddha taught, and emphasizes anew the stress laid upon, "What matters it if ye gain the whole world, and lose your own soul?"

In this hour of greed, vain ambition, and selfish pride, it is practical theosophy to stem the tide of almost every desire that is powerful in this fever of being that we call life, aiming to be simply pure, kind, duteous, forgetful of self, helpful one to another, and, as with the faith of a little child, leave all else to the law of the Father.



## FOUR STRANGE AND TRUE STORIES.

BY LOUISE CHANDLER MOULTON.

IN the January of 1876 I crossed the Atlantic for the first time. My destination was Rome, and my dear friend John G. Whittier gave me a letter of introduction to William and Mary Howitt, who were then residing there, and whose friendship he had made by a long correspondence. Soon after my arrival in Rome, I presented this letter, and the weekly evenings I passed with the Howitts are among the pleasantest recollections of my Roman winter and spring. Both Mr. and Mrs. Howitt were firm believers in the phenomena of spiritualism, and a *séance* of an hour with some amateur or professional medium was often part of the evening's entertainment. I can recall nothing that was at all convincing in these *séances*, and nothing of especial interest except the conversations to which they led. But one of these talks fixed itself in my memory as the most striking record of spiritualistic experience which had then come to my knowledge.

I was calling one afternoon on Mrs. Howitt, and we were speaking of the *séance*—a very barren one, as it seemed to me—of the night before. "I am afraid I am a born sceptic," I said. "I find nothing convincing in any of these experiments." Mrs. Howitt was silent for a moment, and then she said, "I think I will tell thee something that happened in my own life."

I must say, before going any further, that there are certain unimportant details of Mrs. Howitt's story which I have forgotten. I cannot recall the name of the river which she mentioned, nor do I remember just how many years "Willie" Howitt had at that time been dead; but the main facts, those which bear upon spirit communion or thought transference, are indelibly impressed upon my memory.

Mrs. Howitt told me that her son had been one of an exploring party to New Zealand. She was in the habit of hearing from him by every possible post, for he was the darling of her heart, and he took the greatest care to spare her all possible

anxiety by keeping her informed of his movements. One day she received a letter telling her that she must not be anxious if several succeeding posts brought her no communication, for he was going with his party to explore the largest river in New Zealand, a river which led through an uncivilized and unknown country, and no postal communication would be possible until his return. She felt no anxiety, therefore, during the first week or two of silence. Then all at once a strange impression came to her.

"I was out in the garden," she said, "among my flowers, when suddenly I was told that Willie was dead."

"Told!" I asked. "How? Did you hear a voice?"

"I cannot make thee understand. I heard, and yet I did not hear with my bodily ears. I was made aware. I did not believe then so firmly as I believe now in the possibility of spiritual communication, and I said nothing to my husband; but he saw that something had saddened me, and several times he said, 'What ails thee, Mary? What is weighing on thy mind?' But on Sunday he came to me and he said, 'I know now, Mary, what is troubling thee — Willie is dead.' And the very next day a letter came from New Zealand, and it was from one of Willie's companions on the exploring expedition; and it said that Willie had fallen overboard where the river was swift as well as deep, and all efforts to rescue him had been in vain."

Soon after, I remember, Mr. Howitt came in, and Mrs. Howitt said to him, "William, will thee tell Mrs. Moulton how we heard of Willie's death?" and Mr. Howitt's version corresponded in all respects with the one his wife had just given me.

My second story of spiritual communication concerns a relative of my own, a cousin, born like myself in Connecticut, who was married and settled in the West. Her mother, who had in her lifetime been a firm believer in spiritualism, had been dead for some years; and ever since her death my cousin had believed in her constant presence and influence, and had arranged her life according to what she believed to be her mother's guidance. I do not remember the precise date, but it must have been about eighteen years ago when she was urgently entreated by her mother to change all her plans for the summer and go to far-off Connecticut. "Ask your husband to let you go," said the influence; "tell him

how important you feel that it is, and beg him not to answer hastily, but to take time to consider it."

That evening my cousin made her request. I am not certain whether her husband believes that the compelling influences by which his wife is so often moved are really of spiritual origin, but at any rate he knows how significant they are to her. So when she asked if she might take their three children and go East, and at the same time entreated him not to answer hastily, he listened in silence. A few days later he said to her: "I have been thinking of what you proposed the other night; and if you feel so earnestly about it, I don't like to say no. But I can't have the family all broken up. You may take the youngest boy" (a little fellow of three) "and leave the others with me."

Accordingly, my cousin made her preparations for leaving home. All this time she had had no intimation whatever as to the special reason for which her journey was to be made; but when she was leaving the house, her housekeeper said to her: "I do hope, ma'am, you won't be gone all summer. It will be lonesome here without you." And my cousin answered, "Oh, no, my father will be dead and buried, and I shall be back here before the middle of July."

She assured me that these words were as unexpected to herself as to her listener. *Until she heard them with her own ears*, she did not at all know what she was saying.

She came to Connecticut, and went at once to see her father, who seemed to her as well as when she had seen him three years before, and as well as a man of his age was at all likely to be. That night she was sitting in her own room, and she said to herself, "I really *don't* see what I was sent on here for — father seems as well as ever to me." And instantly the answer came, "Yes, he seems so, now. He won't be taken sick till June, when you are visiting Mrs. —, and then he'll never get better."

Soon after that she came to Boston, to pass a few days with me; and during her visit she said to me: "You have often wished for some test as to the genuineness of spiritual impressions. I will put one in your keeping." Then she told me this story, precisely as I have here related it, and added, "Now, you know why I came East, when I didn't mean to, and what I have been told; and you can see for yourself what the next developments are."

Early in June she went to make the visit to Mrs. ———. She had been there but two or three days when the person with whom her father boarded arrived, and asked to see her.

"Your father's been taken sick," said this woman, "and he's a very sick man. I'd like to have you move him. He's got relations enough, and I don't feel like having him sick and maybe die in my house."

My cousin immediately went with her to her father, summoning a skilful physician to her aid. "Can I move him?" she asked, after a thorough examination had been made. "Yes," was the answer, "I don't think it will hurt him to be moved to-day; but you must make haste about it. He's a very sick man, and he'll be worse before he is better."

The patient was moved, thereupon, to the house of a widowed sister, and his daughter watched faithfully beside him. When a fortnight had passed, her aunt said to her one morning: "You ought to get out and take the air. It does your father no good for you to shut yourself up so closely."

"I can't go out to-day," was the instant answer, "for it is the last day of my father's life"; and again, my cousin assures me, she had no least idea of what was coming until she herself heard the spoken words. Her aunt went into the sick man's room, and presently returned, saying, "I don't see any change in your father, or anything that looks as if this was going to be his last day." "No," said my cousin, "he will not die till nearly four o'clock this afternoon," and again these words were as unexpected to her, until she heard them, as to her aunt.

It was from twenty minutes to a quarter of four, that afternoon, when the sick man breathed his last; and it was July 12 when, after a brief sojourn at some seaside place, my cousin again entered the doors of her Western home.

My other two stories were told me by a Massachusetts man who has travelled much and lived much abroad, and has made more investigations into the occult than I could recount here. He has read widely and thought deeply, and at any rate he is entirely to be trusted. He is a disbeliever in spiritualism, so called, — or perhaps I should say a doubter, — but he pledges his word for the truth of these stories, which he admits that he is entirely unable to explain.

Both incidents date back at least a dozen years. My

friend lives in Whitinsville, Mass., and he had been invited to the house of an acquaintance, in the neighboring town of Uxbridge, for a spiritualistic *séance* at which the much-decried Maud Lord was to be the medium.

On the afternoon of the appointed day, a friend from Providence arrived unexpectedly, and there was nothing for it but to take this unforeseen guest along to Uxbridge. But it all caused some delay, and the *séance* had already begun when they arrived, and the man from Providence was not introduced even to the host of the evening, and he was an entire stranger to every one in the room.

Very soon, however, the medium turned to him, and said, "If you please, sir, Sarah wants to speak to you." The Providence young man made no response, and the medium turned her attention to some one else. Again she turned back to him, later on, and said, as before, "Sarah wants to speak to you," and again he made no response. Finally, just as the *séance* was nearly over, she turned to him a third time, and said: "Sarah wants very much to speak to you. She says her name is Sarah Thornton Deane—D-e-a-n-e, Deane," spelling out the last name, letter by letter. Still the Providence man made no reply; and after they had left the house, he said to my friend: "*What rubbish it all is! Why, I never knew any Sarah Thornton Deane in my life.*"

But he chanced one day some weeks later, on an impulse of idle curiosity, to ask an aunt of his if she had ever heard of a Sarah Thornton Deane. "Yes, indeed," was the answer; "but she's dead, long ago. She lived with your mother three years—one before you were born and two afterwards. She took care of you those two years, and she just set her life by you."

"And did she call herself Sarah Thornton Deane—all three names? And was the Deane spelled with a final e?"

"Yes, she always put the Thornton in; and she spelled the Deane with an e. But what set you to asking about her? She's been dead years and years, and I doubt if you ever saw her after you were three or four years old."

"Yes, but I chanced to hear her name," said the Providence young man; and he began to think that perhaps it was not all a fraud.

The fourth and last of my stories seems to me perhaps the



strangest of all. It was of a *séance* at which my Whitinsville friend was present, in company with a brother of his, now dead. He has forgotten the medium's name, but she made upon him a distinct impression of honesty. She was an utter stranger to both young men, but she insisted on talking to my friend's brother. There was a strange, intense excitement in her manner. She gave no name, but she told him that a friend of his, very dear to him, but very, very far away in the West, was at that moment suffering terribly. "I see blood, blood," she cried, "oh, so *much* blood!" Then, as he said nothing, she turned away and devoted the rest of her hour to more responsive subjects. But just at the last she turned again to my friend's brother, and said, with a sort of triumphant earnestness, "Ah, he does not suffer now; he's dead — dead!"

And the strange thing was that in course of time came the explanation of it all, in the tragic story of the death of a young man who had been the closest friend of my friend's brother. He lived on a cattle ranch in the far West. Some desperadoes had stolen his cattle. He went in pursuit of them, and was himself pursued and overtaken by a terrible blizzard. He tried to cut some wood to build a fire; but somehow the axe slipped in his benumbed fingers, and cut deep into his knee-pan. He bandaged it as well as he could, and struggled to make his way to the nearest settlement; but just as he had almost reached it, the bandage came undone, the blood burst forth again, and what with stress of weather and of pain, and terrible loss of blood, he died that very afternoon. As nearly as the difference in time could be computed, he was in his final agony when the medium spoke of him first; and he was, as she said, already dead before the end of her *séance*.

"And all this does not make you believe in spiritualism?" I asked, as my friend concluded his story.

"I am convinced," he answered, with the sceptical smile of the *fin de siècle* young man, "that there are a great many things in this world which we are not able, as yet, satisfactorily to explain; but at least I will vouch for the truthfulness of every detail of these two stories."

## IN THE TRIBUNAL OF LITERARY CRITICISM.

### BACON VS. SHAKESPEARE.

BY HON. IGNATIUS DONNELLY.

#### CONCLUDING ARGUMENTS IN THE CASE.

##### PART I. CLOSING ARGUMENT FOR THE PLAINTIFF.

ALL great changes in public opinion are accomplished silently. The man who, from the sheer force of reason, reverses his past convictions, is not apt to be demonstrative about the matter. He is indeed a little ashamed to acknowledge that he had been so long deceived. Even before Christianity appeared upon the scene, Paganism had been undermined and overthrown, in the judgment of all intelligent Romans, as we perceive from the jests of Cicero. Every age is to be judged by the thoughts of its best thinkers, not by the solid mass of its hereditary ignorance and prejudice. There will always be clefts and caverns where the light of the sun does not penetrate. Napoleon I. said, while emperor, that he had no doubt that there were individuals in Paris who had never even heard his name. There is, or was recently, a colored clergyman in Richmond, Va., who denied the rotundity and daily revolution of the earth on its axis. Galileo's "*E pur si muove*" — it (the earth) does move for all that," — can be contrasted with that clergyman's "The sun, he do move," as illustrating the beginning and the end of all controversies in a civilized, advancing age. But the light, long after it has illuminated the mountain ranges of intelligence, finds its way down to the stagnant pools, and stirs multitudes of creeping things into action.

THE ARENA deserves credit for reopening the public discussion of the Bacon-Shakespeare question. I say "public" discussion, for the controversy has never ceased to progress in thousands of minds all over the world. Even the advocates of Shakespeare, who have cried out most loudly, "The whole thing is exploded, the argument is ended," found themselves the next moment scuffling and wrestling with an army of new converts to Baconism, and had hardly a ray of fact or reason left on their backs when they got through.

## I. TIMID ADVOCATES.

It is to be regretted that the opening argument in behalf of Francis Bacon, in the present discussion, has been placed in such — pardon the expression — insufficient hands. Mr. Reed, I might say,—if it is not too strong a phrase,—betrays his client. He “goes back” on him like Mark Twain’s frog in the celebrated jumping match. After talking for three hours in behalf of his illustrious client, Mr. Reed whirls around and employs the last half-hour of his speech in telling the jury they should give their verdict for the other side. This kind of thing is perplexing. If Sir Francis looks down from the clouds, and retains anything of his former mental perspicacity, I can imagine the open-eyed, open-mouthed wonder with which he must have regarded such an unreasonable and illogical performance. But Mr. Reed was doubtless influenced in this matter by the example of Mr. Appleton Morgan. That gentleman wrote a book and published it—a book of over three hundred pages, the great work of his life—to demonstrate, and did demonstrate, that William Shakespeare never wrote a line of the Shakespeare plays; and then in five minutes, without an additional fact or reason, he took it all back again. My old friend Sunset Cox used to tell a story of two Hindu jugglers who, by the light of their torches, performed some wonderful feats of legerdemain, and wound up the entertainment by each man taking his torch and jumping down the other’s throat, leaving the audience in darkness. Really, these commentators who swallow themselves produce a similar perplexing and astounding effect on the spectators.

Now, I hope I shall be pardoned for saying that all this seems to me a cowardly truckling to popular prejudices, which no courageous spirit would be capable of. Either Francis Bacon wrote the plays or he did not. If he wrote them, those who believe so should have the courage to assert their convictions in the face of the howling ignorance of four hundred such worlds as this. One should be either a man or a mouse. He should either stand up and fight for the truth to the last gasp, or he should crawl under the skirts of popular delusion, and not leave even his sleek, timid little tail sticking outside, to show the place he went in at. The saddest sight in this world is a bright brain that thinks, cringing before a mob of dull brains that do not think.

Infinite harm has been done the Baconian argument by these cowards. As Jack Falstaff says:—

“You rogue, here’s lime in this sack; there is nothing but roguery to be found in villainous man; yet a coward is worse than a cup of sack with lime in it; a villainous coward. . . . Call you that backing your friends? A plague on such backing; give me them that will face me.”

Think of the man who could give up God's truth and the cause of Francis Bacon, for the smiles of a lot of young gentlemen who call themselves a "Shakespeare society"!

"If manhood, good manhood," says old Jack, "be not forgot on the face of the earth, then am I a shotten herring."

## II. THE STATUS OF THE DISCUSSION.

In my judgment the debate has reached to-day a point where the question is not so much, "What further proofs are there that Bacon wrote the plays?" as, "What arguments have the defenders of the old faith to show that he did not write them?"

The proposition is incredible that a man should be able to produce the greatest, profoundest, broadest compositions ever put forth by any member of the human family since the world began, — works overflowing with evidences of vast industry and universal scholarship, — and yet leave behind him, apart from the writings in controversy, not a thought, a word, a scrap of writing, a letter, a fragment of the manuscript of the plays, or anything else, except three signatures to his will, and two to legal conveyances, none of them spelled as the name was spelled on the title pages of the plays published during his lifetime. Not even a tradition comes down to us which points to industry or scholarship; to association with any of the great men of his time, except two or three play-actors; or to any nobility of life, or elevation of soul or character. It is Goliath disappearing under a boy's hat; it is Jove sticking the tip of his nose out of a rat-hole.

The men who defend Shakespeare's title to the plays are those who, of themselves, never would have appreciated the vastness of those works. They are incapable of measuring the planetary distance between the thoughts expressed and the biography of their alleged author. They acutely perceive (to use Emerson's phrase) "the Shakespeare of earth," but they are blind to "the Shakespeare of Heaven." To them the rival of Colly Cibber and Boucicault might have lived any kind of life; he might have projected his tongue out of his mouth and wagged it about as he wrote, and still have composed the plays. But the rival of Homer, "the foremost man of all this world" — that is another matter. Halliwell Phillips, reverently storing away the sodden boards of an old stable supposed to have been once owned by the man Shakespeare, is a type of a class of critics the hardest to shake in their conviction that the play-actor of Stratford wrote the plays.

## III. THE TOBY MATTHEW POSTSCRIPT.

The first point made by the Rev. A. Nicholson, in behalf of the defendant, is in reference to the famous postscript to an undated letter written by Sir Toby Matthew some time between the 27th

of January, 1621, and the date of Bacon's death. The first folio, in which the so-called Shakespeare plays were first collected, and in which half of them made their appearance for the first time, was entered in the registers of the Stationer's Company on Nov. 8, 1623. Sir Toby writes to Francis Bacon, "I have received your great and noble token and favour of the 9th of April." The "favour" was the letter; the "token" was something which accompanied the letter. It is generally supposed to have been a book. If it was not a book, what was it? The circumstances of the two friends forbid the suggestion that it was money; for Ben Jonson, we are told, made special efforts to sell copies of the first folio, and Bacon was at the time a ruined man, and sorely pressed for money. Moreover, we know that Sir Toby was Bacon's dearest friend; and their correspondence, still extant, shows that Bacon was in the habit of sending his writings to him, sometimes with injunctions not to let any one else see or copy them.

And why was Sir Toby, while profuse in compliments, so careful not to say one word that would indicate the nature of the "token"? And why did he add to his letter this strange postscript:—

"P. S. The most prodigious wit that ever I knew, of my nation, and of this side of the sea, is of your lordship's name, *though he be known by another.*"

If there was no mystery in the matter, why did he not speak right out? Is there not some connection between the "token," whose nature is not indicated, and this inexplicable postscript? Where there is nothing to be concealed, men do not whip his satanic majesty around the bush in that curious fashion.

But, says Mr. Nicholson, this letter does not allude to the first folio, because that work was not entered in the registry of the Stationer's Company until Nov. 8, 1623; and this letter of Sir Toby is written in answer to one from Bacon dated "April 9."

Surely this is profound reasoning. Might not Bacon's letter have been written April 9, 1624? And on the other hand, does our reverend friend suppose that this huge folio book, with its thousand pages, was all printed, or any part of it printed, on that eighth day of November, 1623? It was a stupendous work for that age, and would be even for the publishers of to-day. With the mechanical facilities of that period, it must have required months, possibly years, for its production. Did Mr. Nicholson never hear of "advance copies?"

But a complete answer to this objection is found in the fact that there is one copy of the first folio in existence, with the date 1622, instead of 1623, on the title page. (See Holmes' "Authorship of Shakespeare," 3d ed., p. 172.) This being so, part of the edition must have been printed in 1622; and there



would therefore be no difficulty in supposing Bacon to have sent a copy of the book to Sir Toby April 9, 1623. And Mr. Nicholson concedes that Sir Toby left England for Spain in March, 1623, and was in Spain on the 29th of May, 1623, and this would account for the phrase "and of this side of the sea." So that all the facts cohere with the contention that Bacon sent Sir Toby a copy of the first folio, April 9, 1623, and that Sir Toby, in that same April or in the May following, wrote Bacon the undated complimentary letter, with the mysterious postscript setting forth that the most prodigious wit of the whole world was of the name of Bacon, although he was known by another name.

But the reverend critic seeks to explain all this away in the following unique fashion:—

"In the postscript quoted, I contend there is no reference to any other than the philosophical works of Bacon. There is no mystery in Sir Toby Matthew's compliment; he means, 'of all philosophers, English or continental, however highly any other may be thought of, I, for my part, put first the name of Francis Bacon.' If the statement be not thus general, the reference is without doubt to Galileo."

This is extraordinary. Was Galileo's real name Bacon? Was he of Sir Toby's nation? Was there any law against mentioning the name of Galileo in a private letter? And if Sir Toby, writing to Bacon, desired to say that he, Bacon, was a greater wit than the Italian astronomer, why, in the name of all that is reasonable, did he not say so? There was no law then, any more than now, to prevent a man from expressing his preference for one philosopher over another.

The proposition, "The most prodigious wit of my nation, and of this side of the sea, is of your lordship's name," is utterly incompatible with the proposition, "You, Francis Bacon, are a greater man than Galileo"; and then add to it the rest of the sentence, "though he be known by another" (name). The declaration will then stand, "You, Francis Bacon, are a greater man than Galileo, though he, Galileo, be known by another name!"

There is only one conclusion that can be reasonably entertained; to wit, Sir Toby received a book from Francis Bacon, which he does not dare to name or describe, by hint or otherwise, just about the time the first folio was going through the press; and desiring to compliment the author without betraying his secret, he resorts to a subtle and involved form of words, which no man, under any other circumstances, would have made use of.

#### IV. THE "CONCEALED POET."

The next point made by the Rev. Mr. Nicholson is in reference to those curious words with which Bacon concludes a letter to Sir John Davis, who was a poet himself. The letter is addressed to "Master Davis, then gone to the king, on his first entrance."

After requesting Davis to defend him to the new king (James I.), in case there should be "any biting or nibbling at his name," Bacon concludes, "So desiring you to be good to all concealed poets, I continue."

Mr. Nicholson argues that Bacon herein referred to those poetical compositions which were known to be his; not the translations of the Psalms,—for they were not made for about twenty years thereafter,—but certain fugitive poems, sonnets, etc. But the difficulty here is that, if Bacon referred to poems that were known to be his, which he had acknowledged, then he could not speak of himself, in connection therewith, as a "concealed" poet. One can only be a concealed poet by having written concealed poetry, and Bacon evidently alludes to some secret between himself and Davis,—some compositions which he had not acknowledged,—and on the strength of these he appeals to Davis to stand his friend with the king.

But when Mr. Nicholson suggests that Bacon was a poet, that he wrote poetical compositions which have not come down to us in his acknowledged writings, he came perilously near conceding the Baconian argument; for if Bacon did this, why might he not have done much more?

Nor do we rest alone upon the authority of this letter or Sir Toby Matthew's postscript for proof that Bacon was "a concealed poet"; for we have another witness who testifies, not only to these facts, but also that the secret writings were of the greatest magnitude and importance.

#### V. BEN JONSON'S DECLARATIONS.

Many years after the death of both Bacon and Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, the companion and "fellow" of Shakespeare and the amanuensis of Bacon, put forth in his work called "Discoveries," in discussing Francis Bacon, a most striking statement. It must be remembered that Ben Jonson is the chief witness in behalf of William Shakespeare's claim to the plays. His introductory verses to the first folio are always cited to prove that "the sweet swan of Avon" was the veritable author of those mighty works. Hence his statements in reference to Bacon are to be carefully studied and every word weighed. He is enunciating the great wits of his period, and yet he altogether omits the name of Shakespeare, whom he had described in those introductory verses as the

"Soul of the age!

The applause! delight! the wonder of our stage! . . .

He was not for an age, but for all time," etc.

He begins by saying:—

"Cicero is said to be the only wit that the people of Rome had equalled to their empire. *Ingenium par imperio*. We have had many."

He then refers to Sir Thomas Moore, Sir Thomas Wiat, Henry, Earl of Surrey, Sir Nichol Bacon, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Walter Raleigh, and others, concluding as follows:—

"Lord Egerton, the Chancellor, a grave and great orator, and best when he was provoked. But his learned and able (although unfortunate) successor" (Bacon) "is he who hath filled up all numbers, and performed that in our tongue which may be compared or preferred either to insolent Greece or haughty Rome. In short, within his view, and about his times, were all the wits born that could honor a language or help study. Now things daily fall, wits grow downward, and eloquence grows backward: so that he may be named and stand as the mark and acme of our language."

Let us consider this statement.

In the first place, there can be no question that "numbers" in that age meant poetry, so called because poetry is the only form of composition in which the syllables are necessarily all numbered. There is little need of proof of this. In "Love's Labor Lost," Longaville, speaking of some love verses he had written, says:—

"I fear these stubborn lines lack power to move,  
O, sweet Maria, empress of my love,  
These numbers will I tear, and write in prose."

It has been urged by some one that Jonson used the word "numbers" in the Latin sense; but it will be seen that he declares that Bacon had "filled up all numbers . . . *in one tongue*." If the sentence means anything, it means that Bacon had written all kinds of poetry in *English*. And this is rendered clearer when Jonson adds, "He (Bacon) may be named and stand as the mark and acme of our language."

Now, if Bacon "filled all numbers," what were they? Surely not the much derided Psalms. No one would think of instituting a comparison between those compositions and the greatest works of Greece and Rome. Then it follows that if Bacon did that in "numbers," in poetry, which antiquity may be challenged to surpass, those writings must have been concealed under the name of some one else, or have been published anonymously. There were no great compositions put forth in that age without an author's name on the title page; hence Bacon, if Jonson's statement is true, must have written under a *nom de plume*. Where are we to seek for those hidden poetical writings? And here Ben Jonson furnishes us a clue thread which leads directly from the concealed poetical writings of Francis Bacon to the Shakespeare plays. He says that Bacon's numbers "may be compared or preferred to *insolent Greece or haughty Rome*"; and in his (Ben Jonson's) introduction to the first folio of the plays, he says, speaking ostensibly of Shakespeare:—

"When thy socks are on,  
Leave thee alone for the *comparison*,  
Of all that *insolent Greece or haughty Rome*  
Sent forth, or since did from their ashes come."

Consider for a moment that here the "comparison" is in both cases expressed in precisely the same words, arranged in precisely the same order. Why did he not, in one instance or the other, use simply the words "Greece and Rome"? Why is it in both cases *or* and not *and*? Why was it not in one instance "*haughty Greece and insolent Rome*," or some other of the innumerable forms of expression that might have been employed? Jonson says Bacon was a great poet; greater than

"thundering Æschylus,  
Euripides and Sophocles to us,  
Paccuvius, Accius, him of Cordova dead ;"

a "concealed poet,"—for no such works are put forth among his acknowledged writings,— "a prodigious wit, known by another name," says Sir Toby; and when we ask our excellent friend Ben,—"rare Ben,"—who had lived in Bacon's house, and been one of his "good pens," his clerks, where those great works are to be found, he slyly points his finger to that expression, *insolent Greece or haughty Rome*, which, like an umbilical cord, unites the parent to the offspring; and smiling, he walks away into the dark background and abyss of time.

But the Rev. Nicholson cannot see it. The sun in heaven might glare into his distended eyes, and he could not see it, if his theory required that there should be no sun. We read in the history of Galileo's revelations, with that new instrument, the telescope:—

"A professor in the university of Padua argued that as there were only seven metals, seven days in the week, and seven apertures in a man's head, so there could be but seven planets: and when forced to admit the visibility of the satellites through the telescope, he reasoned that, being invisible to the naked eye, they were useless, and consequently did not exist!"

Poor Galileo! He had a hard time of it. He might just as well have written a book on the Baconian hypothesis.

#### VI. SAINT ALBANS.

And then the reverend gentleman explains away the fact that St. Albans, Bacon's residence, is named a score of times in the plays, and Stratford-on-Avon, Shakespeare's birthplace, not once, by the assertion that St. Albans was on one of the principal roads going north! But in spite of that, might not Will Shakespeare, if he wrote the plays, have said a single word to immortalize the spot where he first saw the light; where he

courted his wife (married hurriedly at one calling of the bans); where, later in life, he set up an establishment as a gentleman, under a coat of arms never granted to him;—might he not have mentioned it even if it did not stand on one of "the principal roads going north"? The author of the plays mentions another Stratford, "Stony Stratford," an insignificant village in the county of Bucks; but he has not a word for his birthplace or for that really charming river, the Avon. And why did he go out of his road to drag in St. Albans, in all sorts of ways and places, when, according to his biographers, he never had the slightest connection with that village or the marvellous and many-sided genius who resided there?

#### VII. THE GEOGRAPHICAL ARGUMENT.

But, says Mr. Nicholson, the plays were written by Shakespeare, because he refers to Wincot, Barton-heath, and the Forest of Arden. But there is no evidence that "Wincot" was Wilmecote, three miles from Stratford; "2 Henry IV." v. i., shows that there was a "Woncot" in Gloucestershire; while the Forest of Arden referred to in "As You Like It" contained palm trees, olive trees, and lions; and the most credulous of Shakespearean advocates will not contend that such tropical adjuncts have ever blessed Warwickshire. And then the reverend gentleman argues that Shakespeare must have written the plays because the name of "Hacket" is mentioned in "Taming of the Shrew," and there were "Hackets" in Wilmecote! Upon the same evidence it might be demonstrated that the author of the plays was an Irishman, for the name of "Hacket" is and was very common in the Green Isle!

#### VIII. THE NORTHUMBERLAND MANUSCRIPT.

And Mr. Nicholson can see nothing significant in the fact that a curious manuscript volume was found recently in Northumberland House, in which the plays of "Richard the Second" and "Richard the Third" were mixed up in the same book with orations and essays of Francis Bacon; while the names of Bacon and Shakespeare are scribbled all over the cover in a handwriting of the age in which both men lived. And yet, before this controversy began, it was supposed that an interstellar distance separated the play-actor of Stratford and the philosopher of St. Albans, and that there was not a single point at which their lives touched each other.

#### IX. THE PLAY OF RICHARD II.

And when Bacon objected to prosecuting Essex for having had the play of "Richard II." acted the night before his treasonable



outbreak, and told the council that "I having been wronged by bruits before, this would expose me to them more; and it would be said I gave in evidence mine own tales," we clearly see that Bacon, writing for his contemporaries, who had listened to the "bruits," or rumors, meant to say that it had been charged that he was the author of that play, and for him to prosecute Essex on that especial ground, would be like giving in evidence against his former friend, his own workmanship, his own sins, his own tales. The Rev. Mr. Nicholson argues, on the other hand, this meant that Bacon had been charged with having invented lies against Essex upon other matters. But what had that to do with that charge? Bacon says "it" (the hiring of Augustine Phillips to put the play of "Richard II." on the boards) "had no coherence with the rest of the charges (they), being matters of Ireland." And how could that charge be "tales or inventions" of Bacon? It was sustained by the sworn testimony of those to whom the money was paid. Bacon did not allege it or prove it. He was simply asked to prosecute upon that particular branch of the case; and he objected because it would be said he gave in evidence his own tales; to wit, "Richard II."

And the Rev. Mr. Nicholson claims that the play of "Richard II.," which Sir Gilly Merrick hired Shakespeare's company of actors to play the night before the Essex rebellion, was not the so-called Shakespeare play, because one of the players objected to playing it on the ground that "the play was old, and they should have loss in playing it," and thereupon Merrick paid forty shillings extra as a compensation for any possible lack of audience; and the Shakespeare play, says Mr. Nicholson, "dated no further back than 1597," and therefore could not be called an "old play" in 1599. The reverend critic is probably more familiar with theology than play-acting, or he would have known that a play may become old in six months. And the Shakespeare play of "Richard II.," while it was entered at Stationer's Hall Aug. 29, 1597, stated on the title page that "it had been publicly acted by the Right Honorable the Lord Chamberlain his servants," before that time; and Malone fixed the date of its composition as 1593 and Chalmers as 1596.

And there is nothing else but these points in Mr. Nicholson's articles which one can pick out with a pair of forceps; it is nothing but wandering garrulity without substance.

#### X. PROFESSOR ROLFE'S ARGUMENT.

The next argument is that of Professor W. J. Rolfe. The professor steps to the front of the stage, and with a contemptuous wave of his hand dismisses the whole Baconian contention as "literally baseless." And yet in the next breath he gives the

whole case away, by admitting that some parts of some of the plays were not written by Shakespeare. He says:—

"In these latter years the chronology of the plays has been pretty well settled, and all the more important questions concerning their authorship—*what plays are wholly Shakespeare's* [he does not spell the name as the man of Stratford spelled it when he signed his will, but then it is perhaps one of the evidences of genius and scholarship for a man to sign his name one way to his publications, and another way to his legal documents], *what are his only in part*, how the *mixed authorship* is to be explained, etc.—have been satisfactorily answered."

And again the professor says:—

"*'Timon of Athens,'* by the way, one of the worst printed and most corrupt plays in the folio, and one in which all the recent critics recognize *two authors*,—the second of whom is wretchedly inferior to Shakespeare, and probably finished the play after the death of the dramatist," etc.

Now, really it does seem to a plain man, who is not a professor (and could not write a sentence like the above), and therefore is not entitled to speak oracularly, that when once it is admitted that *part* of the plays were *not* written by the Stratford man, the whole Shakespearean fabric falls to the ground. For the play-actor-editors of the first folio of 1623, Heminge and Condell, declare in their introduction that every word of the contents of the folio was printed from Shakespeare's original manuscripts, clearly and beautifully written by Shakespeare himself, without a blot. On the title page of that first collected edition we read: "Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. *Published according to the true original copies.*" And again, the list of "the principal actors in all these plays," is prefaced with these words: "The works of William Shakespeare, containing all his Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. *Truly set forth according to their first original.*" And Heminge and Condell say:—

"His mind and his hand went together; and what he thought he uttered with that easiness that *we have scarce received from him a blot in his papers.*"

And they go on to say that former editions, the quartos, were "stolen and surreptitious copies," but that now they present the public with the *simon-pure* articles, in Shakespeare's own handwriting, from his own original, infallible copies.

If now the advocates of Shakespeare concede that the plays were of "mixed authorship," then it follows that they did not come into the hands of Heminge and Condell "absolute in their numbers *as he conceived them*"; that they were not printed by them from "the true original copies"; in other words, that their statements in these respects are false; and being false in one particular, the whole allegation of Shakespeare's authorship, which

rests principally on this folio, falls to the ground. Where we find falsehood we suspect deception, and where we find deception we can reasonably anticipate mystery.

#### XI. THE MIXED AUTHORSHIP.

And if the professor admits that the plays were the work of more than one writer, then who shall say how much of them Shakespeare wrote, and how much the others? And who shall say whether the inferior part, spoken of by Professor Rolfe, was Shakespeare's composition or belonged to the other fellows? And once you admit that some one else had a hand in the composition of the immortal works which go by the name of Shakespeare, you let the enemy inside the Stratford breastworks. If it is conceded that Shakespeare did not write part of the plays, may it not reasonably follow that he did not write any of them? The charm is gone. The prescriptive rights of three centuries are brushed away. The whole case is at sea. And the professor has done it all, with that charmingly contemptuous wave of his lily-white hand, as he utters the sweeping sentence, "The theory is literally a baseless one."

"I am Sir Oracle,

And when I ope my lips let no dog bark."

And how does Professor Rolfe, after admitting that several hands took part in writing the plays, demonstrate that Francis Bacon was not one of them? After opening the door to every contemporary Englishman who could read and write, so that they might crowd through into immortality, how does he manage to shut it in the face of the greatest Englishman then living? After conceding that some members of the vast army of the mediocre unknown of that period had a share in the composition of those splendid plays, why does he rule out that man best fitted for the work, of whom great thinkers offer such testimonies as the following:—

"Everything of genius the most profound, of literature the most extensive."—*Edmund Burke*.

"The poetical faculty was powerful in Bacon's mind. No imagination was ever at once so strong and so thoroughly subjugated."—*Macaulay*.

"For elevation of thought, and greatness of expression, it seems rather the devotion of an angel than a man."—*Addison*.

"A grandeur and solemnity of tone, a majesty of diction. Terse and burning words from the lips of an irresistible commander."—*Fowler*.

"The bright torch of his incorrigible imaginativeness. He was a genius second only to Shakespeare."—*Church*.

"A great and luminous intellect; one of the finest of this poetic progeny."—*Taine*.

Let in, says Professor Rolfe, the rag-tag and bob-tail of London to a share in the mixed authorship of the world's im-

mortal works, but shut out that man! If a mighty genius appears upon the scene, says the professor, the play-actor may have to fall back on his buskins, his tinsel, and his lath sword.

#### XII. SHAKESPEARE'S SCHOLARSHIP.

Professor Rolfe objects that Bacon could not have written the plays, because they do not exhibit accurate scholarship. But Mr. Reed has already answered this argument (see p. 438, et seq., September ARENA, 1892). He shows Bacon falling into a multitude of errors, in his prose works, as great as any that can be pointed out in the plays. It has even been proved (see Mrs. Potts' *Promus*, pp. 31-38) that Bacon's notes, in his own handwriting, in the *Promus* sheets, now preserved in the British Museum, are full of false Latin. These critics do not seem to recognize the difference between a scholar and a pedagogue: between one who gathers into his brain all treasures of thought and fact recorded in another language, and one whose soul can never rise above prepositions and conjugations. These details are the lumber of the mechanism of speech surrounding ideas; and the one who has the most power to acquire the first will generally have the least faculty to grasp the latter.

#### XIII. ANACHRONISMS.

A great deal is always said by the Shakespeareans about the *anachronisms* of the plays as demonstrating that the writer of them was not a man of learning. But the argument proves too much. If Shakespeare believed that Aristotle lived before the semi-mythical Trojan war, he did not know enough to write the "Troilus and Cressida," in which the blunder occurs; and yet Richard Grant White, who was no Baconian, says (*Life and Gen. of Shak.*, p. 257):—

"Where, even in Homer's song, are the subtle wisdom of the crafty Ulysses; the sullen selfishness and conscious martial might of broad Achilles; the blundering courage of thick-headed Ajax; or the mingled gallantry and foppery of Paris, so vividly portrayed, as in 'Troilus and Cressida'?"

And if we find in the Roman plays "holy churchyards, nuns, striking clocks, and mediæval manners and customs," we might conclude that the author was an ignoramus, until we read what Knight says:—

"In his Roman plays he appears co-existent with his wonderful characters, and to have read all the obscure pages of Roman history with a clearer eye than philosopher or historian. . . . The marvellous accuracy, the real substantial learning of the three Roman plays of Shakespeare, present the most complete evidence to our minds that they were the result of a profound study of the whole range of Roman history, including the nicer details of Roman manners, not in those days to

be acquired in a compendious form, but to be brought out by diligent reading alone."

A man cannot be at the same time so learned as to provoke the wonder of scholars, and so ignorant as to arouse the laughter of schoolboys. Where the conflicting appearances of such a state of things are found in the same writings, they should at once put us upon suspicion and inquiry; there is some mystery about such gross contradictions. A man could not write a profound history of English civilization and at the same time relegate Oliver Cromwell to a period before the birth of Christ.

But fiction is fiction. Sir Walter Scott did not scruple, in his "Ivanhoe," to bring into the same scene three characters, Robin Hood, Robin Adair, and Richard of the Lion Heart, who lived in three different ages,—there being, indeed, considerable doubt whether one of them ever lived at all. And no one ever thought of arguing from that *anachronism* that the novel must have been written by an ignorant, untaught man, and not by the learned writer of the Signet.

And Professor Rolfe seems to argue that when the author of the plays put into the mouth of the tinker Sly, the words, "The Slys are no rogues; look in the chronicles; we came in with *Richard Conqueror*," that the author did not know that the Conqueror's given name was William! This is terrible! He will next argue that when Edgar, disguised as a peasant, in *Lear* (act iv., scene vi.), said, "Ch! ill not let go, zir, without vurther 'casion," that the author of the plays did not know how to spell those words correctly, and consequently it must have been Shakespeare, and not Bacon.

And in his eagerness to prove that the author of the plays was an ignorant blockhead—and therefore the Stratford man—Professor Rolfe actually garbles the original text of the play of "1 Henry IV." I quote:—

"In '1 Henry IV.' (i. 1, 71) the King speaks of  
'Mordake the Earl of Fife and eldest son  
To beaten Douglas';

but he was not the son of Douglas, but of the Duke of Albany. How did Shakespeare make this mistake which Bacon could never have made? He was misled by the accidental omission of a comma in the edition of Holinshed, which he followed. Mordake is thus apparently described as 'son to the gouvernour Archembald earle Dowglas,' and not merely son to the governor, or *regent*, the office then held by the Duke of Albany; 'Archembald, earle Dowglas' being another person in the list of prisoners which the old chronicler is giving."

Now the fact is, as an examination of the original folio will demonstrate, that Professor Rolfe deliberately inserts the word "the" in the first line quoted above, and takes out a comma after the word "Fife"! The original reads:—



\*  
"Of prisoners Hotspurre took  
Mordake Earl of Fife, and eldest son  
To beaten Douglas, and the Earl of Atholl,  
Of Murray, Angus and Menteith."

By taking out a few more commas Professor Rolfe could have demonstrated that Mordake was half a dozen men.

#### XIV. THE PROFESSOR'S CONCLUSIVE ARGUMENT.

But Professor Rolfe, at this point, wheels into line his Maxim gun, which is to end the battle forever, and drown out with its roar the clatter of the revolvers, muskets, and rifles of the small controversialists. He proudly boasts that he is the inventor of the gun,—like the man in the story, who made the bridge out of his own head, and had wood enough left to make half a dozen more. And what is this terrible instrument of death and devastation which is to blow Francis Bacon and the lunatical Baconians into everlasting smithereens? Simply this:—

To make his point he shifts his whole argument from the question, *Did Bacon write the plays?* to an entirely different question, *Is there a cipher in the plays?* He rather fears that public opinion has become so demoralized, on the first issue, that he cannot safely appeal to it; but on the latter inquiry—thanks to a generation of ignorant reviewers—he feels that he can fall back with safety on the broad bosom of popular incredulity; and so he wheels his machine-gun about by the right flank, and proceeds to pour shot and shell into a question which is not at all in issue in this controversy; because even a Shakespearean must have wit enough to perceive that the alleged cipher discovery may be a fraud or a delusion, and yet Francis Bacon may have written the plays. The authorship does not depend on the cipher, although the cipher, if proved, settles the authorship.

His point is that the first folio disproves the Baconian parentage because it is abominably printed and full of typographical errors. But is this conclusion inevitable?

Suppose Bacon wrote the plays, and that there is no cipher in them; suppose he threw them from him as "trifles"; used them to eke out his small income by dividing the profits with the play-actor, Shakespeare, and thought no more about them, and cared nothing for them; and suppose they were gathered up from the actor's hands, with all their imperfections on their heads, and so jumbled together and printed by Heminge and Condell. In this view of the case, Professor Rolfe's point is no point at all—the point is knocked off his point. For the typographical errors are in that case as consistent with the authorship of Bacon as with the authorship of Shakespeare; in fact, more so, for the play-actor-editors, Heminge and Condell, assure us that this wretchedly

imperfect folio (according to Professor Rolfe) was actually printed from Shakespeare's original copies, "absolute in their numbers as he conceived them," and so plainly and perfectly written as to be without blot or blemish. How, then, could the folios have been printed from the dog-eared "actors' copies," with the actors' names substituted for the names of the characters in the plays, if the book was printed from Shakespeare's original manuscripts, unless Heminge and Condell told a falsehood? And if they did upon so important a point as this, why should we believe them upon any other matter? If they did not have Shakespeare's original, unblotted copies when they said they had them, what reason have we to believe them when they say the plays were written by Shakespeare? "False in one thing, false in all."

So we perceive that, setting aside the question of a cipher, the typographical errors of the first folio do not disprove Bacon's authorship of the plays; but they completely overthrow the veracity and credibility of Heminge and Condell, on whom the Shakespeare authorship mainly rests.

#### XV. THE CIPHER.

Then we come to Professor Rolfe's contention, that these typographical errors of the folio disprove the existence of a cipher in the plays.

On the other hand, I claim they prove it. A complex cipher of words, depending on the arithmetical paging of the folio, and running through every column and every paragraph of it, would necessitate more or less distortion and displacement of the text. The external narrative would have to be adjusted to the internal, and the internal to the external. If in the counting there was a word too many, what more natural than to drop an "and" or a "the"? And hence we find ("1 Henry IV." v. 3):—

"This earth that bears *the* dead  
Bears not alive so stout a gentleman."

The "the" should be "thee." Does Professor Rolfe pretend that Shakespeare did not know the difference between the two words, and that this is accurately printed from his original copy? But if the cipher story required a "the" there instead of a "thee," Bacon inserted it, and probably chuckled to think that it would mislead some foolish people into believing that the author was an ignorant play-actor, or that the books had been hurriedly and carelessly printed.

But the critics do not all take the view of this great work held by Professor Rolfe. Collier says of the folio:—

"As a specimen of typography, it is on the whole remarkably accurate; and so desirous were the editors and printers of correctness, that

they introduced changes for the better even while the sheets were in progress through the press."

One has only to examine the punctuation of the folio to see that the proof had been carefully read; and where we find the proof-reader correcting certain minute errors and leaving other flagrant ones unchanged, we may reasonably conclude that there was some reason for it. And where (as Professor Rolfe points out) *Jack Wilson* was substituted for *Balthazar*, *Kemp* nine times printed for *Dogberry*, *Cowley* twice inserted in place of *Verges*, and *Sinklo* taking the place of other characters, — these men being all play-actors, — and these gross errors were not corrected by the printers when they stopped the press to make other more insignificant alterations, is it unreasonable to suppose that there is a cipher-narrative in the plays in which these men were mentioned? Professor Rolfe explains their presence in this way: that the folio was printed from actors' copies, where the names of the actors were given instead of the names of the *dramatis personæ*. But this does not explain other peculiarities. For instance, in "1 Henry IV." i. 2, we read: —

"I have a jest to execute that I cannot manage alone. Falstaffe, Harvey, Rossill, and Gads-hill shall rob those men that we have already way-layde," etc.

Here the names "*Harvey*" and "*Rossill*" are substituted for *Bardolfe* and *Peto*. There is no *Harvey* or *Russell* in the list of actors which prefaces the folio; nor have I ever read of any actors of those names in that era. Indeed, *Russell* and *Harvey* are aristocratic names, while the players were usually taken from the humbler walks of society. And men of the names of *Russell* and *Harvey* were mixed up in the life of Francis Bacon — the noble family of *Russells* were his cousins; and Sir William *Russell* was Lord Deputy in Ireland at the time the play of "1 Henry IV." was printed. On the other hand, William *Harvey* was subsequently the discoverer of the circulation of the blood; and another *Harvey* was, I think, one of Bacon's creditors.

Moreover, I am prepared to prove that the names of nearly all the players given in that list in the first folio, reappear most ingeniously in the plays, showing that Bacon's relations to the actors were very close and continuous; and that where the names of "*Wilson*," "*Kemp*," "*Cowley*," and "*Sinklo*" are forced into the text, it was not accidentally, but because they were referred to in the internal narrative, the cipher.

#### XVI. "THE CIPHER EXPLODED."

And my courteous commentator, Professor Rolfe, winds up his article by a kick at the cipher as he walks off the stage. He says, "It was long since exploded."

Let us see.

I wrote and published in the *North American Review* — I think it was in December, 1890 — an article in which I showed the existence of the following extraordinary facts: —

1. There are on three consecutive pages of the folio of 1623, to wit, pages 53, 54, and 55, of "1 Henry IV." scattered through the text, without any apparent connection with each other, the words, — *Francis — Bacon — Sir — Nicholas — Bacon's — son*. I have repeatedly challenged the whole world to show another book in all literature in which on any three consecutive pages, or any ten or twenty or one hundred consecutive pages, the same words and all of the same words can be found; and no one has as yet produced any such book.

2. I showed in *The Great Cryptogram* that the cipher-numbers which told the internal story were obtained by multiplying the number of the pages of the first folio by the number of bracketed or italicized words on the first column of that particular page.

3. On the first column of page 53 there are seven italicized words; and on the first column of page 54 there are twelve italicized words. If we multiply 53 by 7 it gives us 371; and 54 multiplied by 12 gives us 648; and these two numbers, 371 and 648, are cipher-numbers, which reveal a narrative of thousands of words, much of which I have worked out.

4. It is at this particular place, on these three pages, that Bacon makes known definitely who he is, in that internal narrative, and identifies himself as the son of the great Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, under Elizabeth, and one of the most illustrious wits, orators, and statesmen of his age.

5. There are, on these three pages, thirteen breaks in the text of the play, caused by the stage directions, such as "Enter Falstaffe," "They whistle," etc., and by the sub-division of the act into scenes, and there are six columns on the three pages.

6. If we take that cipher-number, 371, and count from the beginnings or ends of a few of the scenes or stage directions, thirteen in all, or the tops and bottoms of said six columns, we find that the words, — *Francis — Bacon — Sir — Nicholas — Bacon's — son*, are each and every one of them the 371st word from one of those points of departure.

7. If, now, we take the other cipher number, 648, and count in the same way from a part of those points of departure, we will find that each of those words, — *Francis — Bacon — Sir — Nicholas — Bacon's — son*, is also the 648th word from one of those points of departure.

To appreciate this, let us consider "the law of chances" or "the doctrine of probabilities."

If we found in any written or printed matter that the tenth

word was "our," the twentieth word "*Father*," the thirtieth word "*who*," the fortieth word "*art*," the fiftieth word "*in*," the sixtieth word "*heaven*," the seventieth word "*hallowed*," the eightieth word "*be*," the ninetieth word "*thy*," and the hundredth word "*name*," there would be ten billion chances against one that those words could have come there, in that order, by accident. The reader can make the calculation for himself. There are ten chances against one that the tenth word will be "our"; and there are ten times ten chances against one that the twentieth word will be "*Father*," and so forth. Hence we have the result:  $1 \times 10 = 10$ ;  $10 \times 10 = 100$ ;  $100 \times 10 = 1,000$ ;  $1,000 \times 10 = 10,000$ ;  $10,000 \times 10 = 100,000$ ;  $100,000 \times 10 = 1,000,000$ ;  $1,000,000 \times 10 = 10,000,000$ ;  $10,000,000 \times 10 = 100,000,000$ ;  $100,000,000 \times 10 = 1,000,000,000$ ;  $1,000,000,000 \times 10 = 10,000,000,000$  — ten thousand millions, or, as we say in this country, ten billions. In *The Great Cryptogram* I worked out a narrative of about a thousand words, every one of which came from one root-number and were found in half-a-dozen pages.

Now let us apply the above rule to the words, — *Francis* — *Bacon* — *Sir* — *Nicholas* — *Bacon's* — *son*. There was only one chance out of 371 that the 371st word would be *Francis*; only one chance out of 371 times 371 that the word *Bacon* would also be the 371st word from one of those thirteen points of departure. And so on. Let the reader make the calculation, and he will find that there is but one chance against *two hundred and fifty-nine trillions* that those five words could so come out, in the text, each one the 371st word. But if we continue the calculation through the repetition of the same five words, by the root-number 648, multiplying the 259,000,000,000,000 by 648, and carrying it through five multiplications, we reach numbers for which there are no words in our language, or perhaps in any human speech. Hence it may be said that it is an absolute impossibility that those words should so appear in that text by accident. Hence it follows that there is a cipher in that so-called Shakespeare play, in which the names of Francis Bacon and his father are twice mentioned.\*

\* And now I come to that which induces me to refer to this matter in answer to the sweeping statement of Professor Rolfe that the "cipher was exploded long ago."

When I sent the article containing this surprising revelation to the *North American Review*, I requested the editor to place the manuscript in the hands of some person in whom he had confidence, and ask him to count the words of the text and report to him whether those words held the arithmetical relations to the language of the play and to each other which I claimed they did. He wrote back that he had submitted the article to Professor W. J. Rolfe, and that Professor Rolfe had reported to him that my statements were correct; but that Professor Rolfe would reply to my article in the next number of the *North American Review*.

I looked for the reply with great curiosity. I could not see how he could reply to it. If he admitted the correctness of my statements then he must, it seemed to me, admit, as a reasonable human being, that such results could not have come about by chance; and if he admitted that much, then he must further admit that there was a cipher in the plays. What was my astonishment, when Professor Rolfe's article appeared, to find in it not a single reference to the facts he was to reply to, not a single attempt to



## THE TRANSLATION OF THE PSALMS.

But I would briefly refer to the argument that the translation of some of the Psalms into English verse, made by Bacon shortly before his death, proves conclusively that he had not the poetical capacity to write the Shakespeare plays.

In answer to this I would say, that that translation is below the standard of Bacon's genius as revealed in his acknowledged prose works. To prove this, let one read the expressions of opinion I have quoted in this article from Macaulay, Burke, Taine, and others, as to the sweep and vastness of his imagination, his poetical power, his wit, the dignity and grandeur of his style, and compare it with the doggerel in some of those Psalms. There is as great a distance between Bacon's higher prose and these translations as there is between Lear and Hamlet and the verses attributed by tradition to the play-actor, Shakespeare:—

"Ten in a hundred lies here ingraved,  
Tis a hundred and ten his soul is not saved.  
If any man asks who lies in this tomb,  
'Ho ! Ho !' says the devil, ' 'tis my John-a-Coombe.'"

deny or explain them away; but, instead, a lot of arguments, similar to the weak sisterhood of sophistries which I have replied to in this article, about the typographical inaccuracies of the first folio proving conclusively that Francis Bacon did not write the plays! It was as if I had led the professor up to witness a dynamite explosion, and, while the air was still black with flying rocks and the earth torn into great cavities, the professor should pick up a fragment of the bomb-shell and proceed to learnedly demonstrate that they did not make as good tin in Nebraska as in Wales, without the slightest reference to the astonishing spectacle he had just witnessed. For the professor knows very well that if it is conceded that there is a cipher in the Shakespeare plays, dependent upon the paging of a volume printed seven years after Shakespeare's death, and presupposing the most exquisitely careful proof-reading, which could not have been done by the dead Stratfordian, that the whole Heminge and Condell introduction, and with it the whole Shakespearean claim of authorship, falls to the ground.

And Professor Rolfe knows very well that in the second folio edition of the plays, published in 1632, and the third, printed in 1664, every page repeats the precise arrangement of words of the corresponding page of the 1623 folio; each one begins and ends with the same words, and contains the same number of words; each one repeats all the blunders of the first folio, even to the omission and repetition of words, the incorrect pagination, and the extraordinary bracketing and hyphenating of the text; so that we have in the seventeenth century, nearly two hundred years before stereotyping was invented, a literal and exact copy of the first folio, made forty-one years after it was first printed and forty-eight years after the death of Shakespeare; printed from different type, but repeating, with minute accuracy, the very mistakes which Professor Rolfe says render it impossible that Bacon supervised the first edition! And the proof is conclusive that all this was done under instructions: for when the printers of one of these editions came to reprint page 79 of "2 Henry IV." of the first folio, it was so crowded that they could not get all the six hundred and odd words upon the page, but carried a line or two over to the next page, where there was plenty of room; but before they got to the end of that column they had readjusted their work, so that it ended with the same words ("loosely studied") which end the corresponding column in the 1623 folio! Now no reasonable man can doubt that this strange *fac-simile* work must have been enforced by some person or society, and that there must have been some reason for it; and what more natural than that some person or persons knew that there was a cipher in the 1623 folio, which depended on the numbering of the pages, the number of words on each column, and all the strange peculiarities of bracketing and hyphenation which so distinguish and disfigure the original text.

Lack of space prevents me from dwelling upon some of the other points presented by Professor Rolfe, but I may return to the subject at some future time; for surely THE ARENA cannot better employ its space than in the discussion of the authorship of the greatest works extant in the world.

Or that other beautiful production : —

Goliath comes with sword and spear,  
And David with a sling ;  
Although Goliath rage and roar,  
Down David does him bring."

Shakespeare's title to these noble conceptions rests on the same basis as his claim to the plays,—tradition, and the consensus of opinion of his contemporaries,—for no man is recorded as testifying that he ever saw Shakespeare write a line of the plays; nor did the Stratford man ever put forth any claim to them in his will or otherwise. If the "doggerel" in the Psalms precludes the Baconian authorship, the "doggerel" in the epitaphs written by Shakespeare for his friends and neighbors precludes the Stratford authorship; for they are a million times more rude, ignorant, barbarous, and stupid than anything found in the Psalms. But if a great man and scholar puts forth bare and barren poetical compositions far below the recognized level of his achievements in prose, may we not surmise that this mental emasculation was part of a general scheme to mislead and deceive his own generation, which had "wronged him by bruits" that he was the real author of the plays? The fact that the second and third folios were precise reproductions, in *fac simile*, forty years after Bacon's death, of the first shows that some persons, whether you call them a society (Rosicrucian or otherwise) or not, must have been in existence who knew there was a cipher in the plays, who knew it depended upon the paging and typographical arrangements of the first folio; who believed that the cipher would some day be revealed; and who desired to perpetrate the proof of it by printing many additional copies, preserving the particulars of form on which it depended, lest the devouring maw of time should utterly swallow up the first folio. But

"No more yet of this;  
For 'tis a chronicle of day by day;  
Not a relation for a breakfast, nor  
Befitting this first meeting."

## PART II. CLOSING ARGUMENTS FOR THE DEFENCE.

BY FELIX E. SCHELLING, PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN  
THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The case before us is an action in ejectment brought by certain counsel, purporting to represent one Francis Bacon, an able, unscrupulous, and dishonest lawyer of the reign of Elizabeth, against one William Shakespeare, actor, playwright, and part

owner in certain London theatres, for all that part and parcel of the Elizabethan drama embraced in some thirty-seven plays, more or less, commonly known as "The Works of Shakespeare," handed down as such in perpetuity of enjoyment to his heirs throughout the civilized world. The said Francis Bacon is acknowledged to have made no such claim in his life, and it may be suspected that the counsel for the plaintiff has been retained much after the manner of that illustrious luminary of the law, Sergeant Buzfuz.

The burden of proof lies solely with the plaintiff, who has sought by his affirmations to disturb rights and conditions long universally recognized; and hence the rebuttal of his evidence is alone sufficient to throw him out of court. The defendant has courteously waived all bars of action, and is generously content to let the case go to the jury upon such merits as they may determine it to possess.

But before taking another step, we must repudiate Mr. Reed as of counsel for the defence, and demur to the disingenuous nature of several points in his so-called "Brief for the Defendant." This "counsel for the defence," referring to the universal repute of Shakespeare's authorship of the plays, tells us that "fortunately . . . we are not altogether limited to negative testimony. Three of Shakespeare's personal friends are ready to take the witness stand in his behalf" (p. 694). Nay, he is even so generous as to summons "the whole population of Stratford *en masse*" (p. 696); why not the whole population of London, does not appear, although what Shakespeare's neighbors at Stratford knew about the authorship of the plays that his neighbors in London didn't know, only a Baconian could surmise.

Now before the publication of the folio of 1623, besides numerous allusions, anonymous and others, such as Heywood's or Thorpe's, Shakespeare is mentioned as an author by Harvey, Richard Carew, Meres, Barnfield, Manningham, and Camden; and praised by Chettel, Weever, (I should like to believe) Spenser, John Davies of Hereford, Barkstead, Webster, Freeman, and Basse, all or any of whom might have been cited to prove this point. As "counsel for the defence," Mr. Reed thinks that actors were held in low repute (see pp. 693 and 702, and Dr. Furnivall's denial, p. 448); as counsel for the plaintiff, he affirms that Shakespeare and Bacon had the same friends (p. 556). Surely things are somewhat mixed. Retransmuted into "counsel for the defendant," Mr. Reed insinuates that the plays were originally published anonymously, falls into that ancient trap of the Baconians, the hyphen of the "Shak-speare" of the title of the folio, nudges the old Shakespearean critics in the ribs about their mistake as to *Vortigern*, and finally sets up a row of objections, which

he answers feebly, drawing his conclusion for the defendant with enormous show of candor. Now it is proverbial that we lawyers *do* do something or other on both sides, but assuredly not often in the same case. It may be affirmed with confidence that neither the defendant, William Shakespeare, nor any of his heirs, until lately in the undisturbed enjoyment of their priceless heritage, could dream of retaining as counsel one who, peradventure, might stumble in the nice distinction between a hawk and a handsaw.

The briefs for the plaintiff exhibit three kinds of "proofs": First, statements, true, but wholly irrelevant; second, assumptions, wholly false; third, arguments, based on fact, but false in inference. Of the first class is the statement that both Shakespeare and Bacon were fond of flowers (p. 278), from which only a Baconian could draw any inference. Of the second are Shakespeare's classical learning, his degradation "in the qualitie he professes," Bacon's idleness of twenty years in the midst of an exacting political and professional career, during which time, as he must have been doing something, he was probably writing these plays. The third class, if not the largest, is that wherein the Baconian hydra performs its most extraordinary contortions. The chief instances are noticed below.

The briefs of the defendant are then three: Dr. Nicholson, who joins issue wherever issue is possible, and deals refutation *seriatim* and complete; Professor Rolfe, who supports Dr. Nicholson with corroborative evidence, and adds a flank movement upon the unguarded Baconian wing; Dr. Furnivall, who supports both defence and new attack, and at full gallop pursues the disconcerted and retreating foe.

In section 1 the plaintiff claims that the author of these plays was a linguist, a man possessed of an intimate knowledge of ancient and modern literature, a jurist and a philosopher (pp. 189-192). It will be noticed that these "notes" apply almost equally well to Bacon, Camden, or Selden, the three most scholarly contemporaries of Shakespeare; that they involve qualities the result of education, not so much of innate character; and that as generic characteristics they are wholly inapplicable to every dramatist of the age from Lily to Shirley, with possible exceptions in the cases of Chapman and Jonson. Dr. Furnivall has given us other "notes." "The writer of Shakespeare's works," he says, "had the highest dramatic power, the highest poetic power, the greatest gifts of characterization and humor, a charming fancy, a romantic, unselfish nature, a wonderful insight into women, and a strong love of them." Now these words point to inherent character, to nature, not to environment; and "not one of these qualities did Francis Bacon possess." (*Ibid.*) But to

return to the allegations. The author of these plays has not been considered a learned man by any but Baconians since the days of Dr. Johnson. "The education of the writer of the plays," says Professor Rolfe, "must have been some such as Shakespeare's. The education and training of Bacon was impossible to produce such a result" (pp. 175-177, and see 449). "The writer of the plays was no amateur, but an accomplished master of stagecraft." Could Selden or Camden, whose educations were analogous to that of Bacon, have written plays of a like general character? Certainly not. Could Marlowe, Heywood, or Webster, whose educations were analogous to that of Shakespeare, have written plays of a like general character? They assuredly did. The plays of the scholar smack of conscious effort, as witness Ben Jonson. The plays of Shakespeare, like those of Marlowe, Heywood, and Webster, are redolent with the life of the stage, its glory, its power, its coarseness, its personal allusions, its national spirit, and the fulness thereof. Hence we may infer that innate character and environment, the two prime factors in literary, as in other evolution, make for the Shakespearean authorship of the plays and absolutely against Bacon's.

In section 2 we have the plaintiff's distorted picture of Shakespeare, constructed with a wanton disregard of fact which makes it difficult to be patient. We agree that the "Shakespeare" of this section could scarcely have written so much as Mr. Reed's arguments; but we earnestly submit that the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, from even the meagre data at hand, reveals a personality utterly at variance with the caricature. In short, these data reveal precisely the man of all men who is the most likely to have written these very plays.

Against section 3 of the plaintiff's brief, Dr. Nicholson brings the phalanx of his defence, closing on every issue of fact. Of the score of "points" of the plaintiff, Dr. Nicholson dismisses as irrelevant: first, the learning of Bacon, and second, the eminence of his family; third, the suggestion that Bacon, if he wrote the plays, might have had a possible reason for concealing his authorship; and fourth, the absurd, "Bacon loved flowers; Shakespeare loved flowers, *ergo* [rather *argat*], Bacon wrote Shakespeare." Dr. Nicholson shows that the frequent mention of St. Albans and York Place in the historical plays is due to their place as a part of history, and that there is nothing Baconian about it. He also rebuts the gratuitous statement that Shakespeare does not mention Stratford and the Avon (17), and is supported in this by Professor Rolfe with an overwhelming array of local names contained in the plays (see p. 279). Dr. Nicholson trips a Baconese translation of *nescio quid* in a manner somewhat to disconcert our implicit trust in these judges of the latinity of Shakespeare



and Bacon, shows that Ben Jonson cannot be proved to have been "Bacon's private secretary" and shows up the midsummer madness that contorts Jonson's lines on Shakespeare's portrait into a lampoon (p. 19). Other assumptions of the plaintiff proved to be without a shadow of evidence are these: that Shakespeare was a *nom de plume* with the dramatic wits of the time (17), that Shakespeare was "ready to adopt any child of the drama laid upon his door steps," that Heminge and Condell could not have written their preface to the folio (point 19), that "Henry VIII." and "Timon" bear upon them marks of the personal history of Bacon (20), etc. Nor is Dr. Nicholson's refutation of the Baconian inference less complete. Sir Tobie Matthew's letter (4) is shown to be inapplicable to the case in point from a Baconian inadvertency as to date: "the deadly parallel" unfortunately proves too much, as by it Robert Greene may possibly have written some of the works of Bacon (p. 14). Other inferences squarely met and absolutely refuted are the allusion to "concealed poets" and the interpretation of the phrase "mine own tales" and the story of the Northumberland House box and its contents, which, told without suppression or distortion, amounts, Baconically speaking, to naught.

Dr. Furnivall, too, does yeoman's service in the *mêlée*, showing up the absurdity of calling Bacon's "Apothegms" "the world's most famous jest-book" (p. 443), disproving Bacon's alleged dramatic power (444), and pointing out that Shakespeare's omission to write a play on the subject, "Henry VII.," proved his tact in rejecting material inferior for dramatic treatment; displaying how Shakespeare, paraphrasing Plutarch, makes gold of mere dross, and how Bacon, paraphrasing the Psalmist, makes dross of pure gold. I shall beg to differ with Professor Rolfe. We have in the Baconian vagary no such dignified reptile as the hundred-headed Lernaean hydra. We have here nothing but a squirming, scampering, many-legged thing now, with not one of its fifth part of a hundred slender supports left to run away on. All are hopelessly curled and shrivelled at the touch of the flame of fact.

We have thus descended into the dust, taken the level but not the methods of our assailant, and, giving up the lance and knightly sword of scholarly criticism, beat him at twenty points in his own play at cudgels. Here is the tale: four points irrelevant; seven points with their bifurcations, false in assumption; nine points with their ramifications, false in inference.

But I leave the consideration of this general repulse of the plaintiff's attack, to note the flank movement of the forces of the defendants, now plumed and panoplied in glittering arms. With

his admirable distinction between intentional and artistic anachronism, Professor Rolfe beats down the last vestige of the alleged erudition of the Shakespearean plays; whilst his proof that the biographical allusions of the sonnets are incompatible with the circumstances of the life of Bacon, his contrast of the scholar's and the playwright's use of historical material, and his apt and original arguments, by which the peculiarities and imperfections of the folio of 1623 are accounted for on the basis of Shakespeare's authorship of the plays, and shown to be wholly inapplicable to the assumption of revision and addition by Bacon (pp. 178-180), ought to be enough to convince even a Baconian.

Here, gentlemen of the jury, is the plaintiff's case: unfounded in fact, unsupported by a solitary scrap of creditable evidence; based upon wild or ignorant assumption, proceeding by false inference and illogical argument; supported with subterfuge, disingenuousness, and contortion of fact. We have before us a series of dramas, peculiar in their intimate knowledge of the stage, and in their adaptation to its ends; exhibiting those defects in unessentials, those slips in accuracy as to small matters, which are impossible to trained scholarship, but displaying in their chronology a growth in power, an expansion in range and grasp, precisely such as would infallibly result from an education of self, carried on with the deliberate purpose of writing plays of this class. We have, moreover, before us a series of dramas marking the height of the romantic spirit in the most romantic of ages, ranging from the coarse ribaldry of Falstaff or Sir Toby Belch, to the purest conceptions of ideal womanhood, the most delicate play of fancy, and the noblest flights of imagination; running the gamut of human passion and emotion in all its thousand vibratory strings, and governed by an all-embracing charity and love of man in his folly and his crime, as in his strength and his triumph.

We accept the opening challenge of the plaintiff: "Of improbabilities, as of evils, choose the least." We have then

#### ON THE ONE HAND A MAN:

*By nature*, cool, calculating, unscrupulous, difficult of approach, speculative, unpoetical, witty, but neither humorous nor sympathetic.

*By education*, a courtier, a lawyer, and a scholar bred in the schools; imbibing the classical spirit from books, and distrustful of his mother-tongue; displaying himself at all points the trained and practiced politician, the speculative and constructive philosopher. Acquainted intimately, apparently, with Jonson alone of the playwrights of the day. Slow in his work and indefatigable in revision.

#### ON THE OTHER A MAN:

*By nature*, warm hearted, imprudent in youth, "upright in dealing" (*Chettle*), "of an open and free nature" (*Jonson*), famed for his wealth of humor, his "gentle" and kindly sympathy.

*By education*, an actor, "excellent in the qualitie he professes" (*Chettle*), a country lad, bred in one of the loveliest counties of England, imbibing the romantic spirit of his age from man and nature, acquainted with perhaps his mother-tongue alone; schooled by Peele and Marlowe, the intimate of Jonson and Fletcher, the friend of Essex and Southampton. Facile and ready in writing, "never blotting out a line."

ON THE ONE HAND A MAN:

*In his life*, scheming as to marriage, untrue to his friend, corrupt in his profession, subservient in the dedication of his works to princes (see dedication to the "Advancement of Learning").

ON THE OTHER A MAN:

*In his life*, marrying imprudently for love, inspiring his friends with all but idolatry (Jonson), "his demeanor no less civil than he is excellent," etc. (Chettle), self-respecting in his dedications to patrons (see dedication to "Venus and Adonis" or "Lucrece").

The history of English literature discloses no man, of the general characteristics and training of Bacon, who has written a play comparable to the least of Shakespeare's. The history of Elizabethan literature discloses several men of origin and education similar to those of Shakespeare who have written immortal dramas. To attribute the Shakespearean plays to Bacon is to believe that one man has done what is distinctly at variance with his characteristics of mind and training, and that a second man has not done precisely that to which his nature and the circumstances of his life must indubitably have led him. To attribute the Shakespearean plays to Bacon, in words already quoted by Professor Rolfe, is to seek to prove one absurdity on the assumption of two miracles.

## THE ANSWERED PRAYER.

BY GERALD MASSEY.

DEAR God, how good to let me see  
The face of "*Love in Heaven*" once more!  
The face that waits to welcome me  
On that torch-lighted shore,  
When Life is growing dark enough  
To kindle beacon-fires of love!

A new life quivers through me, quick  
With longing never felt before:  
But the old mortal life grows sick,  
And ailing to the core;  
As if 'twere sloughing off the earth,  
In pangs that give the new life birth.

Ay me! the momentary gain  
Was followed by abiding loss!  
Bewildered Memory strives in vain  
To know the Vision was—  
That left no likeness; and that I  
Know naught on earth to know it by!

Last night unveiled its perfect Star,  
For one immortal moment seen;  
To-day the Vision fades afar  
As it had never been!  
And yet the glory came to bless  
With added sense of preciousness.

She would have had me share her calm,  
But thrilled me with divine desire;  
She would have brought me cooling balm,  
But filled my soul with fire!

And, O! Her sweetness almost slew  
Me, as it pierced me through and through!

Eager as Lightning was her glance;  
And lo! by light of day I find  
My spirit must have fallen in trance,  
With that great splendor blind;  
Her vanished face I shall not see  
Until she comes to waken me!

O! sighing soul, we must be still,  
Nor let sad, breath the mirror dim,  
Lest she descend once more to fill  
My being to the brim;  
When 'tis again divinely given  
To see the face of "*Love in Heaven.*"



## PRESENT DAY TENDENCIES.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

### ROOM FOR THE SOUL OF MAN.

SOME poets insist that art must not be made the servant of utility. They tell us that poetry, when it descends to plead for the oppressed, the poor, and the miserable, becomes intolerable — mark the word “descends.” Art for art’s sake, and above all, poetry for art alone; such is their creed. Some of these singers dwell in the shadows of Niobe, chanting sad, sweet strains; others flit in joy-lit, love-laden sunbeams, making the heart glad, as swallow-like they skim the surface of human emotion. Others there are with profounder genius, who sound the depths of the soul and stir our inmost being. Still all unite in the clamor of art for art’s sake. Why should the muse soil her robes with the mud of the slums? Why should the music in her voice carry the heart cry of the starving? Why should the fate of the girl struggling for virtue in the face of starvation, or the man striving for work that his loved ones may not die, concern her? Is she not patrician? Is not her votive shrine unsullied marble? Ah, they tell us that when art descends — mark the word — to the commonplace details of life, poetry takes wings. These champions of art for art’s sake, sneer at the prophet poets, whose trumpet tones arouse the sleeping conscience. They scorn the poets of the people, who voice living wrongs, and who unmask injustice endured by the poor. “Sing if you will,” they say, “of the wrongs of other ages — the horrors of classic Greece, the shame of ancient Rome; this is legitimate. But do not draggle the stainless robe of poetry in the mud of the present-day misery.” This contention is not new. It is the old cry of the *dilettante* against the utilitarian. It is an echo of the vanished past, which conservatism treasures as a melody divine. It is the cry of a waning power.

✓ After the gladiator’s brawn came the supremacy of brain. Now room for the soul. Art must be rescued from the bondage of ages brutalized by the supremacy of selfishness. As long as there remains a starving soul, brain, or body, as long as there remains a tear undried or a wrong unrighted, the highest mission of poetry and song will be in the domain of utility. Victor Hugo, the peerless poet prophet of the nineteenth century, has

perhaps better than any one else defended art from her traducers in these thought-freighted words:—

Be of some service. Do not be fastidious when so much depends on being efficient and good. Art for art's sake may be very fine, but art for progress is finer still. To dream of castles in Spain is well; to dream of Utopia is better. Ah! you must think? Then think of making man better.

But critics protest: To undertake the cure of social evils, to amend the codes, to impeach law in the court of right, to utter those hideous words, "penitentiary," "convict-keeper," "galley-slave," "girl of the town"; to inspect the police registers, to conduct the business of dispensaries, to study the questions of wages and want of work, to taste the black bread of the poor, to seek labor for the working woman, to confront fashionable idleness with ragged sloth, to throw down the partition of ignorance, to open schools, to teach little ones how to read; to attack shame, infamy, error, vice, crime, want of conscience; to preach the multiplication of spelling books, to proclaim the equal right to sunlight, to improve the food of intellects and hearts, to give meat and drink, to demand solutions for problems, and shoes for naked feet,—these things are not the business of the azure. Art is the azure. Yes, art is the azure—but the azure from above, whence falls the ray which swells the wheat, yellows the maize, rounds the apple, gilds the orange, sweetens the grape. Again, I say, a further service is an added beauty. At all events, where is the diminution? To ripen the beet-root, to water the potato, to increase the yield of lucern, of clover, or of hay; to be a fellow-workman with the plowman, the vine-dresser, and the gardener,—this does not deprive the heavens of one star. Ah! immensity does not despise utility.

Yet people insist that to compose social poetry, human poetry, popular poetry, to grumble against the evil and laud the good, to be the spokesman of public wrath, to insult despots, to make knaves despair, to emancipate man before he is of age, to push souls forward and darkness backward, to know that there are thieves and tyrants, to clean penal cells, to flush the sewer of public uncleanness,—shall Polyhymnia bare her arm to these sordid tasks? Why not?

Many of our poets, especially those dear to the hearts of the people, have realized that the supreme mission of art was to be the handmaid of justice, progress, and liberty. Whittier appreciated this. His heart burned with that ethical fire which sends lightning coursing through the veins of peaceful people when occasion demands. On the altar of utility he placed much of his noblest work. Lowell in his earlier days, before the plaudits of the *dilettante* and the enervating spell of conventionalism tamed the fervid zeal of a nature naturally in alignment with the highest impulses of justice and freedom, gave us verses which will be an inspiration for generations to come. Gerald Massey, perhaps more than any other of the people's poets of England which this generation has produced, apprehended the true mission of song; and William Morris, in his latest poems, shows that the *dilettante* poet of yesterday has been touched by the higher truth. The popular poet of to-morrow will be a soul-awakened man. The cry of the oppressed for justice, the voice of ignorance pleading for

light, the muffled sob of man-made misery, will be ever surging in his ear; compelling him to lay his soul's best gift on the altar of utility.

The age of brawn failed to give man peace and happiness. The age of intellectual supremacy has likewise failed to satisfy the craving of the human soul. The next step will be into the broad domain of ethics, where justice, freedom, and fraternity will be taken in their broadest significance; where the horizon will not be limited by prejudice nor fettered by ancient thought; where the chains of dogma will fall from the shackled mind, and the broad spirit of love will pervade all society. In the ushering in of this new order, we must summon all that makes for beauty, nobility, and unfoldment, in art, music, and song. They must be rallied under the banner of utilitarianism. The highest voicings of the soul must permeate every recess of the brain of the morrow. The ideal enunciated by Jesus, the sublime truths which haunted the brain of the ancient Stoics of Greece and Rome, the vision which was ever with Confucius, the lofty craving of Gautama, and the evangel sung by the noblest singers of the nineteenth century, must be realized—the soul must blossom with the brain. I repeat, in the service of the higher civilization, now persistently forcing itself upon the conscience of millions of thoughtful people, all lives imbued with the thought of the age, all brains made luminous with love, must place their chaplets on the altar of utility. The poet and the singer must touch the heart of the people. The orator, the minister, and the essayist of the new time must sink self, sink the dogmatism of the bloody past, sink the prejudice and bigotry of the night of the ages, and, facing the dawn with spirit brave, fearless, and loving, demand justice for all men. The philosopher and the philanthropist must also allow their vision to extend. The present demands palliative measures. Do not despise them, O philosopher; commend, aid, and assist all work for the amelioration of human misery, pointing out, however, that they are, in the nature of things, only temporary. Great fundamental economic changes must be brought about, O philanthropist; and the sooner you realize this, the better for the generation of to-day, and the generations yet unborn. You cannot cure the patient by palliatives. Injustice is at the root of the disease. Therefore, while pushing forward thy noble labor for palliation, strike hands with the philosopher in this new crusade, and let all who love humanity swell the anthem of progress.

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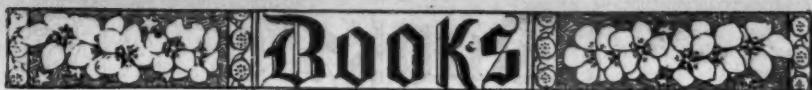
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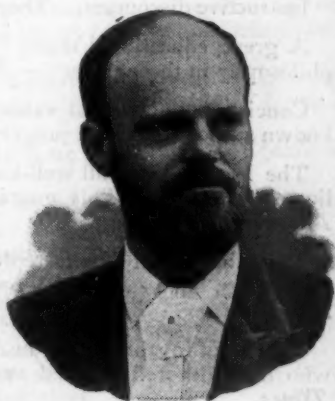
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Never has general literature been so rich in contributions of this sort as now.

Only a few years ago the science of archaeology arose, and, like some suddenly awakened magician, began to unlock the chambers of the past. What treasures of knowledge have come to us from Nineveh and Babylon and Athens and Mycenae and Egypt! Thus the science of Biblical criticism is opening for us unsuspected treasures in the Bible. As archaeology makes clear our relations to antique civilizations, with their arts and politics and religions, so Biblical criticism is revealing to us our close kinship with all the varied, aspiring, struggling, and passionate human life that has record in the Bible.

In the work of bringing the Bible into touch with the whole of our life, many besides the technical critics bear a part. Indeed, it is those



who have the skill and judgment rightly to popularize the results attained by scholarly criticism, that most immediately serve the cause of popular enlightenment, and popular emancipation from the ignorance and superstition which prevent so many from enjoying all the riches that lie for them in the sacred word.

In one direction Dr. Shutter has made a contribution worthy of more than a passing notice. His volume on "Wit and Humor of the Bible" is, in many respects, an admirable book. The style is clear and forcible, and the spirit is in the main reverent and dignified. Perhaps one might find fault with an occasional sentence or phrase; but even to do this would seem censorious, when as a whole his book is so good. The author has successfully maintained his thesis that there are both wit and humor of the most pronounced type in both the Old and the New Testaments. This he has done, not by argument, but by copious and well-selected illustrations.

The chapter entitled "Character Sketches" contains some keen and powerful strokes. If the author has failed anywhere, it is in the chapter on "The Sense of Humor in Jesus." To some he will appear lacking in delicacy of touch and "that good taste which is the conscience of the mind"; yet even here he has been successful in bringing out an important aspect of Jesus' public teaching. The treatment of "Proverbs and Epigrammatic Sayings" is such as to send one with fresh zest to those parts of the Bible in which these most abound.

The use of ridicule and invective in the scriptures is elaborated with much strength and judgment, as well as with fulness of citation. One merit of the book is its abundant citation of examples. The reader is not sophisticated by clever rhetoric; he has luminous instances of the wit and humor of the Bible put before him in the very language of the Bible. This alone would make the book suggestive and helpful, were the author's treatment of his theme less satisfactory than it is. Dr. Shutter's method is literary rather than critical. This is a distinct merit. His brief plea for the Bible as literature at once discloses and justifies his point of view; while his frequent and apt quotation from the literature of the past, as well as the present, reveals his wide acquaintance with the best that men have thought and said. It is not too much to say that his modest wish, "that these fragmentary studies may help some one to appreciate his Bible better and enjoy it more," will be many times fulfilled. He has rendered what may justly be called a unique service to many people who will not love and reverence the Bible less because they have been directed to some of its most attractive and characteristically human features.

PHILIP STAFFORD MOXOM,

*Pastor of Commonwealth Avenue Baptist Church.*

In writing this book, Dr. Shutter has contributed a stirring impulse to that revolution of thought which is going on in our age concerning the Bible, and which can but result in transferring the book from the

indefensible position where supernaturalist theologians have so long insisted it should be held, to the more tenable basis of *the natural*, where it may and must be judged, and defended, if need be, by the same rationality in man which judges of all other creations of the intellect and the moral sense. We have had fifteen hundred years of the supernaturalist's claim, with the sorry result, among the intelligent classes at least, of a widespread scepticism and an almost equally widespread rejection of the Bible as so judged; and it is high time that this suggested transfer be made if we may hope to retain the book among the living moral forces of society. As the word of God, supernaturally given, it eluded the criticisms of men, inasmuch as a book claiming such an origin could not be supposed to embody any human elements.

A brave class of critics in these days, with the noble faith that truth fears no inquiry and needs no defence beyond being understood, are insisting that the Bible is *literature*, and as such it involves history, jurisprudence, poetry, myth, legend, symbol, parable,—all the elements, indeed, which enter into the life and thought and policy of a great people, whose chronicle for thousands of years is found in the Bible. These men are insisting that this literature, mainly of the Hebrew people, shall be interpreted as literature. History must be judged as history, poetry as poetry, myth as myth, legend as legend, even if these phases of thought-life be Hebrew phases. A Jew was human as a Greek was human; and if Greek literature has its histories and legends and poems, its laws and its ethics and its philosophies to be pondered in modern colleges, why not concede and claim the same for the Hebrew literature?

With ample justification, modern inquiry is running these lines of comparison, and the human element is made to appear as plainly in the Jewish literature, whose compend is the Bible, as in the literature of other great peoples. Each type, whether history, philosophy, poetry, or what beside, must be interpreted by the law which creates it, and no more destructive work with the Bible has been accomplished than by its professed friends, who have adopted *one* law of uniform interpretation for all the varieties of literature which abound in the Bible.

Men like Martineau and Wellhausen, Pfeiderer and Kuenen, Robertson Smith and Professors Briggs and Ladd, and Dr. Cone, are rendering great service to the Bible by causing it to appear that a truth is never so strong as when occupying its own legitimate sphere; and by interpreting history as history, and poetry as poetry, and myth as myth, they are rationalizing the Bible and so increasing its strength. Dr. Shutter joins this company, and makes a unique contribution to the rationalized result. His pages reveal an extensive human element in the Bible which takes the varied form of repartee, ridicule, satire, and even *badinage*. But with characteristic earnestness, the Hebrew writer or his hero seldom resorts to this weapon without having a tremendous moral purpose to accomplish. Hebrew wit, when it takes the form of invective

tive or rallery, is almost solemn with its fierceness. Greek wit, in the comparison, is light, and tends more to levity; but Hebrew wit is more like the lightnings that gleamed over and around Sinai when Moses was there amidst the thunder and fire and clouds, receiving the law, as he believed, from the Almighty.

The editor of Martial's Epigrams (Paley), in his preface to a volume of "Greek Wit," reminds us that *wit*, in its original meaning, had only the import of *shrewdness* and *intelligence*, and observes that the idea of *joke* or *fun* is only incidental. Dr. Shutter has illustrated this higher meaning of the word in his volume. Renan has indicated two passages in St. Paul of a near approach to the latter — an "incidental" character of a jest — notably Gal. v. 12. Dr. Shutter proceeds steadily forward, to show how Bible characters have resorted to satire and ridicule to gain their points, as humanly as did ever Aristophanes or Martial or Dean Swift, Sidney Smith or Sheridan or Cervantes. Dr. Shutter has chosen a field in his book that abounds with great prodigality in the *human* element. The first reading of his title will doubtless seem shocking to people who have worshipped the Bible as a sort of idol; but a patient reading of the book will remove that impression. Those who personally know the author will need no assurance of the simple devoutness of the man. He sees the play of human passions on the pages of the Bible. He sees how earnest men among the Hebrews resorted to the powers at their command for accomplishing what they would, and his pages disclose to us the free use which the Bible writers and actors made of those weapons which have always been mighty weapons in the hands of skillful men in all ages and among all people.

A reading of this book must tend to humanize the Bible, to rationalize it in the reader's judgment; and when this work shall be faithfully accomplished, the Bible will be a book of greater power and usefulness than it has been during the long centuries when regarded as the mysterious product of some other world, and miraculously dropped into this.

Every truth it contains is a "word of God," as every truth in the universe is a word of God. Every moral force is an incarnation of Deity; and if men have won great results by employing powers that usually pass under the titles of "Wit and Humor," they have added just so much to the volume of life.

E. L. REXFORD.

#### THE DAWN OF ITALIAN INDEPENDENCE.\*

While the average American yields to the spell bound up in the word "Italy," it is only on Italian soil that it proves potent. Beyond the borders of that magic land, its people, so far as the United States is concerned, sum up as organ grinders, or part of that mass of cheap labor which is lowering prices and complicating the labor problem as it faces

\* "The Dawn of Italian Independence." Italy from the Congress of Vienna, 1814, to the Fall of Venice, 1849. By William Roscoe Thayer. 2 vols; 12mo; pp. 453, 446; \$4. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

us to-day. The Italian immigrant, it is said, is another dangerous element in our complex civilization, and Italy itself a storehouse of evils, emptying itself upon our shores.

As with most popular beliefs, there is a seed of truth in part of this arraignment, since the southern Italian is apt to use his knife on small provocation, and packs cheerfully into our tenement houses, living a life which is the despair of reformers. But few are aware how small a proportion this forms of the myriads who seek our shores, New York alone having now between seventy and eighty thousand Italian citizens, all eager to understand the best thing America has for them, and assimilating the new life even more thoroughly than the German element. They lose no love for the old home. They count themselves still part of that "young Italy," the Italy of to-day, in which from the Vatican itself has come a voice for freedom of thought, and of sympathy for the worker, while before the Vatican stands the statue of a man who three centuries before defied the Church of Rome, and paid the penalty of his daring at the stake. Giordano Bruno, like Savonarola and many another martyr to free thought, sowed seed that flowers to-day. The dweller in Italy, lost in the charm of its memories, its ruins, the thousand sources of delight, has most often lost sight of the more and more vigorous output of new life, and takes no note of the many forms in which progress shows itself, from the admirable work in philosophical and scientific directions, to that embodied in industrial education and the applied arts. To them Italy remains still ragged, picturesque, unthinking, bowed under the weight of old oppression, and owing to her past alone the right to her place among modern nations. It is such conviction that colors our own thought and brings in its train the impatient, half-contemptuous estimate of Italian character, and the place of the Italian on American soil; and thus little or no attempt is made to comprehend conditions for the present generation, whether at home or abroad.

It is fortunate for the student of modern life and its underlying forces that a man who is not only thinker and scholar, but filled with enthusiasm for his subject, has devoted many years of his life to Italy, and gives us the result in volumes charming in style, as well as full of enlightenment. Nothing could well be more complicated than the period he has chosen as his field. Italian politics have meant European politics as well, the bewildering web and its confusing threads defying any ordinary effort at disentanglement. The submissive victim of unending conspiracies, every nation in Europe taking its turn in the suppression of Italy, we have come to think of Italians as a people spending their time

In dropping buckets into empty wells,  
And growing old in drawing nothing up.

Not only Europe against Italy, but her own rulers have twice, at least, proved treacherous to their country and called in foreigners to side with

them against their own blood. To a warm-blooded man like Mr. Thayer, the questions involved are far beyond mere matter of politics, and at many points he breaks into strong denunciation of the tyrannies, inhumanities, and treacheries under which the Italian people have for centuries stumbled on.

The work, conveniently divided into five books, thirty-five chapters, well indexed, opens with a history of Italy at the time of the Renaissance, discovering a curious and almost startling analogy between that period and the first half of the present century. For Italy, when Guelph and Ghibellines had disappeared, other combinations no less destructive arose, and fought for place and recognition. Names took the place of things. States and provinces were arrayed against each other; and even where a nominal union was brought about, profound distrust of each other rendered it abortive. Long continued tyranny had brought with it the usual result of secretiveness, and they conspired secretly, the Austrian dominion in Italy being most fruitful in revolt and plots of every order. A united Italy, for which every patriot worked and hoped, seemed the dream of mad enthusiasts, since from the beginning Rome had stood for Italy, all else being subsidiary to this mighty power. Wherever her legions went and conquered there was absorption, but not union, and Rome dominant made an Italian nation an impossibility. That Dante, moved at first to write the "*Divina Commedia*" in Latin, chose finally to trust to Italian, was a decisive step toward unity, since through him the people, for the first time, had a common tongue. Art, science, literature, long repressed, burst in this wonderful period of the Renaissance into full flower. Paganism, Christianity, feudalism, each had had its share in the development of the new spirit; and though liberty seemed still a dream, each generation saw more and more insurrections and revolts against the tyranny of rulers. The Vienna Conference of 1814, and the long years following it in which Metternich ruled, his methods as subtle as the subtlest Medici, left Italy apparently helpless in the hands of her worst and most determined enemies; yet Mr. Thayer shows clearly that under the surface forces seethed and worked, making steadily for Italian freedom. Indomitable pluck and perseverance were the characteristics of the men who in darkest days lost no faith. Local revolutions in 1820, 1821, and 1830 each accomplished more than appeared on the surface. The barbarous treatment of the patriots in Naples, Modena, and Lombardy, the independent attitude of Piedmont toward Austria, the course of Charles Albert, and the analysis of his strange and complex character, are all most graphically given. From the mass of Italian authorities, most of them inaccessible to American readers, Mr. Thayer has extracted every element necessary to comprehension of the complicated situation, giving in compact form a view supplied by no other historian. It is an abstract of Italian progress, not only toward freedom, but in all points that make for freedom, the end of the first volume bringing us to 1846 and the election of a pope supposed to be



Liberal. The final pages of this volume are devoted to Mazzini, called by the author "The Apostle of the Future and the Leader of Conspiracies," the contrast between Mazzini and Metternich being given in one of the many fine passages in which the work abounds.

Mazzini and Metternich! For nearly twenty years they were the antipodes of European politics. One, in his London garret, poor, despised, yet indomitable and sleepless, sending his influence like an electric current through all barriers to revivify the heart of Italy and of liberal Europe; the other in his Vienna palace, haughty, famous, equally alert and cunning, with all material and hierarchical powers to aid him, shedding over Italy and over Europe his upas-doctrines of torpor and decay. Rarely, indeed, has a period rich in contrasts seen its antagonistic extremes made flesh in two such men. Then, as so often before in human history, the Champion of the Past—arrogant, materialist, and self-satisfied, but waning—had a palace to his dwelling, while the Apostle of the Future found only a cheap lodging and an exile's welcome in a foreign land.

The second volume is devoted wholly to the events of four years, 1846-1849. The author's vivid style and passionate sympathy with his subject carry him easily through the mass of detail, from the driving out of Metternich to the revolution in Milan, the "five days of Milan," in which a population, disarmed by Austrian orders, succeeded in expelling sixteen thousand of Austria's best troops, commanded by a veteran field-marshal, Radetzky. From this moment the war for independence became inevitable, and one by one the Italian princes were forced into it. Plots and counterplots, victories and defeats, the disaster of Novara, the abdication of the king, and the siege and surrender of Venice, with which the book ends, all are given exactly, and so picturesquely that the reader's interest never flags. Other volumes are needed to give the history of the later days, in which Italy has proved the truth of Charles Albert's prophecy that "Italy would work out her own salvation." Of all the nations of the world she has been the only one sunk deep in political and moral misery that has risen to honored place among the nations of to-day. It is to the long-repressed, but always indomitable, energy of her people that she owes this place, and in every page Mr. Thayer shows his comprehension of this spirit. It is this sympathy with the masses that is one secret of the charm of the book; one of his finest passages—the only one which limited space admits—being a description of the place and office of this unconsidered and unnoted force:—

You need not look for complex motives; the recorded actions of the men and women of the Dark Age are almost always traceable to the elementary appetites of half-savage mankind—to lust, to greed, to revenge, to love of fighting. The law of the strongest rules; the weak can get, and he expects, no mercy. Yet above the din of clashing arms, if you listen attentively, you can hear the dull tapping of myriads of mattocks on the earth, and the beating of flails on the threshing-floors, and the thud of the woodman's axe in the forest; for every year, be there quiet or carnage, the soil must be tilled, the crops sown, the harvests garnered, and the fuel stored against the coming of winter; and the nameless multitude of serfs worked on, season after season, century after century, silent, unquestioning, without hope, grinding the grain for another to eat, pressing out the wine for another to drink. Dynasties appeared and vanished, but the race of the toilers, stretching back to the day when the first men tilled the first patch

of glebe, was permanent, and the sound of its tools seemed to beat out a funeral march. The peasant literally belonged to the earth, to be treated as a natural force, like spring rains or summer heats. And a few men, like to him in shape, but as unlike him in privilege as the hawk is unlike the worm, came and took from him the product of his labor. Himself but a better tool, the peasant had spade and plough to his portion; and when, worn out with travail, he sank into the earth, or was struck down by some troop of pillagers, his sons toiled in his stead. Pathetic, uncomplaining delvers of the fields, on your humble shoulders you bore the foundations of great cities and mighty empires; you bent your backs for the arrogant tread of armies; yet you, neglected and uncivilized, were the corner-stone of civilization. How many ages should you look down along the furrow and break its clods, before you suspected that you too were human, that you too were entitled to a share, not only of the wealth you created, but also of all the excellencies of the world? Immemorial oppression has curved your spines earthwards, but the time shall come when, erect once more, you shall look any of your fellows in the eyes, and, lifting your gaze upon the stars, you shall say, "We, too, are partakers in the dignity of the universal scheme, of which these are the tokens and the promise."

HELEN CAMPBELL.

#### WAR CLOUDS.\*

Dr. Levenson is one of the most fearless of radicals, one of the most original among the band of scholars who are calling the country back to first principles. His work in the cause of political reform deserves to be better known; and it is a pleasure, for all who realize the ominous necessity for decided changes in our government, to know that Dr. Levenson will soon have the opportunity of teaching legislative science in a well-accredited college. He will do it as it has never been done before, fundamentally, logically, and, as it were, straight from the shoulder.

The author of "War Clouds, and How to Disperse Them," acknowledges the master mind of Henry George, as most of us do who think. Briefly stated, he finds the ultimate cause of all wars in the private ownership of land, with its resulting enslavement of the many, and the creation of privileged classes. He points out how the so-called protective tariffs of these privileged classes interfere with the natural friendships which ought to exist between nations; how estrangements ensue, and trivial incidents may become the causes of savage wars. He also reminds us that the majority of the people are invariably opposed to war, and are only driven to it by these same privileged classes who hold the rod over them.

That the peasant in France, painfully toiling to wrest from the earth the necessities of life for his wife and little ones, has no cause for enmity against another peasant doing the same thing on the other side of the Rhine, is such a mere truism, that the thoughtful man contemplates with amazement the movement of a mass of the one set of peasants, clothed in special dresses and armed with guns and swords, to pillage and destroy a mass of the other set of peasants, also clothed in special raiment and similarly armed.

This farce is made all the more exasperating by the fact that public opinion is hopelessly falsified even in so-called democracies. As Dr. Levenson justly says, majorities do not rule. Until some plan of pro-

\* "War Clouds, and How to Disperse Them." By Dr. M. R. Levenson. Pamphlet, pp. 36. Published by the author, 1893.

portional representation is adopted, legislatures will continue to represent a mere fraction of the people, no matter how democratic they may claim to be.

What, then, remains to be done? The only real cure for war is to give the whole people ownership in the land; i. e., to adopt the single tax. But while the world is being slowly educated up to this reform, a palliative must be introduced in the shape of international arbitration. In point of fact, "War Clouds" was written originally in French, and submitted to the Lombard Society for Peace and International Arbitration, which had offered a prize in 1888 for the best essay on the establishment of a firm and lasting peace in Europe. We are left to infer that Dr. Levenson's contribution did not obtain the prize, but the elaborate project for an international tribunal which he incorporated in it was highly commended by the Peace Congress held at Rome, 1889. The essay was first published in Volapük, in accordance with its international character, and only now makes its appearance in English, dedicated to the Honorable Grover Cleveland.

It is to be feared that the president, who, from the nature of his office, must spend most of his term distributing offices, will have no leisure to read "War Clouds." It might tell him a great deal that he does not know.

W. D. McCrackan.

#### MUSIC AND ITS MASTERS.\*

This great artist, in a charming, analytical style, gives his reasons for pronouncing J. S. Bach, Beethoven, Schubert, Chopin, and Glinka the master musicians. In comparing them with Handel, Haydn, Mozart, and others, he says, "Himalaya and Chimborazo are the highest peaks of earth; but that does not imply that Mt. Blanc is a small mountain."

Rubinstein considers instrumental music to be the acme of musical expression; stating truly to this end that, while words may be symbolic of high and beautiful thoughts, yet we know there are depths of feeling that often thrill the heart and soul which words can never express. Hence the author pertinently affirms they are "inexpressible."

He also reasons to the effect that the human voice, in its limited construction, does not afford the scope for the outpouring of the emotions born of our beings. A person's happiness may overflow in trills and carollings, as naturally as a bird's spontaneous song, and similarly one's sadness may be voiced when to himself he hums a plaintive melody, words in both instances being superfluous.

We are told that there "Never has and never can a tragedy resound in an opera, such as occurs in the second movement of the Beethoven trio, D major, or in his adagios of Op. 106 or 110," etc.

He attributes the general popularity of the opera, in preference to the symphony, to the fact that the words which explain the music save the

\* "Music and Its Masters." By Anton Rubinstein. Published by Charles H. Sergel & Co., Chicago. Cloth; price, \$1.

musically uneducated, or more frequently, to my mind, spiritually unawakened persons, the effort of interpreting the wordless songs. He says:—

The symphony demands musical intelligence for thorough enjoyment; and only the smallest percentage of the public possesses that. Instrumental music is the soul of music, but this must be anticipated, fathomed, penetrated, and discovered. I find that music is a language, of course of a hieroglyphic kind. He who can decipher hieroglyphics can easily understand what the composer meant to say, and then all that is needed is a suggestion here and there; to furnish that is the task of the performer.

An instance, though not his strongest, which is more lengthy, is given in the following; for example, *The Ballade, F Major, No. 2, of Chopin*. "Is it possible," says the author, "that the performer would not instinctively feel that he must interpret this composition to the hearer as follows: A wild flower, a gust of wind, then the wind caressing the flower, the resistance of the flower, the stormy ardor of the wind, the imploring of the flower; at the end the flower lies there crushed and broken. The same might be paraphrased thus: The wild flower, a village maiden, the wind a knight. And thus in almost any instrumental piece."

As the past, its historical epochs, social and ethical standards, lives again for us in poetry and art, so Rubinstein claims that, since the enthronement of instrumental music, we have in it a same, distinct revealing language to all who possess the key.

Every student and lover of music will find this book instructive, as well as delightfully interesting. The author tells us and demonstrates that he does not favor instrumental music to the entire exclusion of vocal melody.

His position, while completely at variance with ideas held to-day concerning the art, is most persuasive, especially to those who, through Paderewski's subtle and delicate rendering of Chopin's magical Sonata B Minor, have been brought, it would seem, fairly in harmony and in touch with "the music of the spheres," or who, spell-bound, become lost in wonder and enjoyment of the panoramic scenes unfolded to one's inner eyes by the masterful symphony.

HATTIE C. FLOWER.

#### WHY GOVERNMENT AT ALL?\*

This is the impressive title of a new reform book, by William H. Van Ornum, issued without copyright by Charles H. Kerr & Co. of Chicago, which publishers are conducting a religious newspaper of national circulation. The author claims this work to be "a philosophical examination of the principles of human government, involving an analysis of the constituents of society and a consideration of the principles and purposes of all human association," and then lets the volume speak for itself.

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\* "Why Government at All?" By William Van Ornum. Cloth; pp. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.

The person giving this book thorough consideration, who has allowed the priests and politician to do his thinking, will be thunderstruck; the thoughts will prick his mind as the penetrating air of sun-lit Heaven stings a long-bandaged ulceration suddenly exposed to its influence. The student of ethics and politics, with a social panacea of his own, will be chagrined, while the investigator cannot fail to be delighted.

First, the author reviews the theories of Henry George, Karl Marx, P. J. Proudhon, and other economic propositions. His treatment of them is searching and severe, yet generous and fair. Their inadequacies are pointed out, and their pretensions quickly disposed of. Following this part of the book are several chapters on government and law, embracing many original and startling propositions, and sustaining the advancing theory that the church is an enemy of progress.

The author concludes that government *per se* is the source of all the evils complained of in economic relations, and that the way to get rid of them is to abolish their origin. He then proposes a plan to destroy government, and that is by simply obtaining control of one of the branches of our lawmaking functions, and then refusing to pass appropriation bills, thereby bringing the machinery of government to a standstill.

"All that is necessary is to combine," he says, "and elect a majority of one house to do nothing. Elect men to one house only, absolutely pledged to do nothing, except to be present at every meeting, and vote 'no' on every proposition except motions for adjournment. Without appropriations, the militia cannot be called out to put down a strike, a court cannot enforce a single process, a mortgage cannot be foreclosed, a tenant cannot be evicted, and every office-holder must go home about his business."

While the work in the main is vigorous and convincing for one of such an intense reformatory character, it lacks the same open sesame of the golden social state, which is notably absent in the various resolvers reviewed; and while there is no apparent sophistry in its premises, there is in its conclusion a fallacy so plain, that no scientific microscope is necessary to reveal it. Mr. Van Ornum contends that no good can result from government, yet at the same time he proposes to use government to abolish economic evil. He proposes to do this, as stated above, by using the governmental machinery of election and legislation.

It is just as easy for the people to reach any of the advocated Utopian conditions criticised by him, as it is to arrive at that stage of education or development necessary before men will pledge their lawmakers to paralyze their law; and when they have reached such an advancement, such pledge will not be necessary. When the people learn that government is a natural superfluity, it will abolish itself.

Mr. Van Ornum falls into the same error of most anarchists. He deals with government wholly as a cause, utterly ignoring the fact that government is also an effect — the effect and sign of ignorance or imperfection —



deduced from the existence of internal wrongs before government, and further proved by those witnesses who are forming trusts against constitutions and statutes, as well as by those who are refusing to pay their debts contrary to law, and who are committing a thousand and one other acts which offend the spirit of the state. That men break or obey law shows that they are educated to that action. While government may permit men to violate the natural law of equal freedom in a thousand different ways, it does not force them to do so. A man may rob a widow, or conspire against a neighbor; but to say that government causes him to do so, is at par with the idea of holding the manufacturers of fire-arms responsible for a suicide committed by means of the pistol. Gun-makers exist because men want to shoot. To argue that if government did not exist, the law of liberty could or would not be infringed, is the climax of philosophic jugglery.

The conclusion, therefore, must be that education is the remedy. It is public sentiment, as history establishes, which as a prior cause should receive the debit of wrong economic conditions, and the credit for right ones. Government is nothing but a weather-vane showing which way the public wind is blowing, or a needle wavering from the effects of the power at the pole. And therefore it is primarily in order for the people to learn that it is to the advantage of each one personally not to trespass upon the natural rights of others, and to learn to understand and analyze those rights. And to this end, still pre-primarily, all such books as the above named and literature generally of its character are now in order, and should have the widest possible circulation by those interested in the development of the human race, and the improvement of society.

WILLIS HUDSPETH.

#### EVOLUTION AND SOCIOLOGY.\*

These companion volumes are almost indispensable to every thoughtful reader who is too busy to go into a more thorough investigation of the subject of evolution as it relates to life, man, and society, containing, as they do, a series of concise and able presentations, by a number of the most brilliant thinkers of our times, of the various phases of evolutionary and sociological thought. The first volume opens with admirable sketches of the life, characteristics, and views of Herbert Spencer and Charles Darwin, prepared by Daniel Greenleaf Thompson and the Rev. John W. Chadwick. Next follow chapters on Solar and Planetary Evolution; Evolution of the Earth; Evolution of Vegetable Life; Evolution of Animal Life; The Descent of Man; Evolution of Mind; Evolution of Society; Evolution of Theology; Evolution of Morals; Proofs of Evolution; Evolution as Related to Religious Thought; The Philosophy of Evolution; The Effect of Evolution on the Coming Civilization.

The second volume contains chapters on The Scope and Principles of

\* "Evolution." Cloth; pp. 400; price, \$2. "Sociology." Cloth, pp. 404; price, \$2. Published by Arena Publishing Company, Boston.

Evolutionary Philosophy; The Relativity of Knowledge; The Primitive Man; The Growth of the Marriage Relation; Evolution of the State; Evolution of Law; Evolution of Medical Science; Evolution of Arms and Armor; Evolution of the Mechanical Arts; Evolution of the Wage System; Education as a Factor in Civilization; Evolution as Viewed from the Standpoint of Theology, Socialism, and Science; Asa Gray; Edward Livingstone Youmans.

Among the authors who have contributed to these volumes are Prof. John Fiske; Rev. M. J. Savage; Prof. George Gunton; Rev. John W. Chadwick, D. D.; Dr. Robert Eccles; Prof. Rufus Sheldon; C. Staniland Wake; Dr. Lewis G. Janes; Edward D. Cope, Ph. D.; and Rossiter W. Raymond, Ph. D.

Seldom do we find so able a *coterie* of thinkers represented within the pages of two volumes as in "Evolution" and "Sociology"; and I know of no other works which present great scientific truths and theories in anything like so able and condensed a manner. There are thousands of people who entertain at best only vague ideas of the evolutionary philosophy in its broader aspects. To such persons "Evolution" and "Sociology" will prove invaluable. I believe all thoughtful persons who peruse these volumes will be richly repaid.

B. O. F.

#### AT THE THRESHOLD.\*

This work is of the character of "The Little Pilgrim," "Gates Ajar," and "Beyond the Gates," which a few years ago attracted such widespread attention, and were eagerly welcomed by a half-starved religious world—a world which had fed on the husks of theological dogma for hundreds of years; a world which had for centuries listened to dogmatic description of the harsh and brutal God, before which Christians were wont to grovel in fear; a world whose pulpit too often explained the wonderful poem of John on Patmos, so rich in imagery, types, and symbols, in the strictly literal fashion, so common to the Western mind, where the habits of thought run in literal channels.

"At the Threshold" represents the passage of the soul through seven spheres of progress. It is a beautiful, rational, and inspiring little work, highly intuitive; and it is quite probable that the author, who veils her name under the pseudonym of "Laura Dearborn," possesses to a greater or less extent that clairvoyant vision which enabled Swedenborg to unfold, not only spiritual truths of a high order, but also discern happenings several hundred miles away on this planet. Such, for example, as the great fire in his own city, which approached within three doors of his home.

It is said that all authors leave something of their soul on the pages they write. If this is true, I should say the author of "At the Threshold" possesses a fine spiritual nature; that she belongs to that growing

\*"At the Threshold." By Laura Dearborn. (Cassell's Unknown Library, side-pocket edition.) Flexible cloth; pp. 144; price, 50 cents. Cassell Publishing Company.

multitude who are to-day seeking to break the bonds of an outgrown past and enjoy the light, the warmth, and the radiance of a broader life. An idea of the style and thought of this little work may be gathered from the following extract. After describing the passing of her spirit from the body, the author relates an interview with guardian angels, or pure spirits, which have watched over her in life and now welcome her to the ethereal, though perfectly real, life of the hereafter, in which thought is far more potent than on earth. In answer to the inquiry whether or not she will reach the highest plane of heavenly felicity, her companions reply:—

"Wherefore not? Each longing soul finds refuge there; thy deeds on earth prepare thee for its abode. Look back on thy life. Recall what thou hast accomplished to merit this new transition." The words unlocked the door of memory, stirred the dust from its pictured walls. Had I valued earthly moments, lived for others, numbered good deeds, triumphed over self? I bethought me of all the instances crowded into my short life; of the impressions I had left loved ones. "I know not," I faltered, in revulsion of feeling, "whether I be worthy. I fear much. Yet I recall victories over self, temptations shunned, and mercy's balm poured from these hands. I know of love implanted in hearts of family and friends, and their loathing to see me depart." "Thou sayest well," they encouraged; "but canst thou recall one life saved, one cross carried, some deed entitling thee to a starry crown?"

In heaviness of spirit I meditated, bethinking me of the beautiful life awaiting—the one I had desired. I swept the mental walls of all my past, from childhood to womanhood. "Stay!" exclaimed I; "one thing I remember well." "Speak, we will attend," replied they. "In my girlhood I struggled against a fate that pursued me; that imposed chains of doubt, discord, and bitter unrest. Night after night, day after day, my streaming eyes made moist the ground, my heavy heart lay like a weight within my breast.

"One day a pilgrim passed; on his brow, peace; in his eye, kindliness. 'Why art thou tortured thus?' questioned he. 'I know not; I would I might be free;' and my imploring eyes were raised to his. 'Hearken,' said he, 'my name is Morality. I go through the world over highways and hedges, through morass and bramble, seeking the good my hand can do; distributing blessings on those I meet. Wilt thou go with me?' Heart and eyes answered 'Yes.' Thereupon the stranger burst my bonds."

"What then?" asked my guides.

"Free and untrammelled I arose, shook off the chains and heart-heaviness, as a garment, and wended my way beside the pilgrim's, through thorny paths and stony footings. On the road we met numerous pedestrians. Many toiled under heavy burdens—children and youth, middle-aged and decrepit. Some faces wore a look of pain; on others, discontent lay darkly. 'Address them with kindness,' said my companion; 'make their hearts lighter.' The sight of them roused all the compassion, sympathy, and interest in my nature. I assisted them in bearing the burdens that inclined them to the ground; made their travelling less irksome, the outlook more hopeful. Thus passed the hours. The faces gradually lost the lines of care; lightened hearts looked from their eyes, and the steps gave promise of buoyancy. 'Thou hast saved us from dangers that encompassed us,' assured they; 'from despair and from death. See, above the purple mountain-tops new light is breaking. It streameth upon our forward way, and the road becometh clearer, wider, and more accessible. We shall reach our journey's end. We shall leave sorrow and care on the road.' Soon we left them and journeyed homeward. 'Art thou happier?' asked the pilgrim. 'Doth the joy uprising in those hearts communicate with thine?' And his eyes scanned earnestly my face. 'Yes,' answered I, 'in all good lies relief—a freedom from unrest. In mercy's touch is self dispelled. Renewed am I in vigor, spirit, and step. I shall live in this remembrance of others.'

"And thus it was. My pilgrimage fitted me for my latter end, and instilled domi-

nant energy and wisdom into all I essayed." "We rejoice in thy narration," chorused my guides. "Upward now and forever."

All persons interested in the new intuitive and spiritual thought of our day, which is one of the most characteristic signs of the times, will enjoy this work.

B. O. F.

#### FIFTY YEARS HENCE.\*

A prophecy, an imaginary, conception of its author, seemingly the result of a process of intricate mathematical induction. The writer's somewhat didactic presentation robs the work of interest as a piece of fiction.

As a revelation of the future, it introduces no new or startling facts to minds in touch with the trend of the age.

The author is a conservative socialist, who advocates governmental paternalism as a remedy for social evils, rather than educational individualism.

H. C. F.

#### PINE VALLEY.†

The author of this little sketch portrays, in a realistic and refreshing manner, the sunshine and shadow in the hearts of his characters, and the same in their simple home life in Pine Valley; recalling with distinct vividness, to one who has enjoyed Colorado, the inexpressible delight and wonder awakened by the radiantly mellow, lingering sunsets, and gratefully wafting to our senses a breath of that pure, rarified air, in which, Titan-like, the awe-inspiring Rockies lift their heads. To those who have not been thus favored, we advise a brief sojourn in that clime, with "Pine Valley" as a guide.

H. C. F.

#### SONGS OF LIFE ETERNAL.‡

A book of thirty-eight pages, embracing simple poems and an essay. The subject matter would appeal to the sympathies of many Roman Catholics.

Typical of the verses are the following stanzas, from a poem dedicated to Archbishop Williams of Massachusetts:—

Clear as the sky of early morn  
On this, thy festal day,  
With starry gems o'er its vast expanse,  
Shining in bright array.

Thus be thy memory's record fair;  
Be all life's clouds dispelled;  
And only the gems of thy life's reward  
Upon its tables held.

The essay emphasizes the author's abhorrence to altruistic transcendentalism, and firmly expresses his belief in the doctrine of the vicarious atonement and in a personal devil.

H. C. F.

\* Published by Practical Publishing Company, 21 Park Row, New York.

† "Pine Valley." By Lewis B. France. Published by the Chain & Hardy Co., Denver, Col.

‡ "Songs of Life Eternal," and other writings. By Edward Randall Knowles. Published by the author.

Mrs. HARRY ST. JOHN.

"Mrs Harry St. John," by Robert Appleton, somewhat like Valde's "Scum," deals with the purposeless vice of the "Idle Rich." It is a terrible book by its implications. It delineates a world of heartless pleasure-seeking, and shows its self-absorption. The book is not a diatribe, is not a tract, as might have been expected; it is astonishingly well rounded in its characterizations, and balanced and judicial in effects. Those who go to it in hope of something salacious will be disappointed; but those who read it to understand men and women differently placed in social power, or those who read to see how a broad-horized analytical mind sees the fashionable life of Boston, will find the book worth study. The style is lucid, simple, and therefore effective. If this is a first book, it is a great achievement.

SEED: NUMBER ONE HARD.\*

This admirable book is the gift of its publishers to Rest Island Mission, Rest Island, Minn., a "sanctuary" established by the author for the restoration of men fallen through drink. All profit arising from the sale will be donated to the mission, no charge being made for advertising the volume. The six masterly speeches consist of: first, Number One Hard; address delivered before the New York East Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, April 3, 1892. Second, Christian Patriotism; address delivered at National Prohibition Park, Staten Island, New York, July 4, 1892. Third, Gospel Temperance; address delivered before the National Convention of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, in Minneapolis, Minn., July, 1891. Fourth, Thy Bottle; an address delivered before the Congregational Ministers of Ohio, at Ashtabula, 1892. Fifth, Wine is a Mockery; an address delivered at Stone Hall, Northfield, Mass., Aug. 6, 1892. Sixth, A Larger View of Gospel Temperance; an address delivered before the National Convention of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, in New York City, July, 1892.

Miss Willard justly says of the author: "A more complete speaker and writer our temperance family does not count in its great and gifted membership than John G. Woolley. He argues his case with matchless logic."

An excellent book to place in the library of every Y. M. C. A., every S. of C. E., and every Sunday school. The speeches are radiant with wit, keen and kindly, and every sentence has a flash of beauty, or the ring of a Damascus blade. Some of the best specimens of modern American oratory are to be found in this work.

\* "Seed: Number One Hard." Six speeches by John G. Woolley. Introduction by Frances E. Willard and Lady Henry Somerset. Cloth; stamped with elegant designs in gold and silver; pp. 157; \$1. New York, London, and Toronto. Funk & Wagnalls Co.



## BOOKS RECEIVED.

"COSMOPOLIS." A novel. By Paul Bourget. Cloth; pp. 343; price, \$1.50; paper, 50 cents. Published by Tait, Sons & Co., Union Square, New York.

"PLATO AND PLATONISM," by Walter Pater. Cloth; pp. 256; price, \$1.75. Published by Macmillan & Co., New York.

"AN ODD SITUATION," by Stanley Waterloo. Cloth; pp. 311. Published by Morrill, Higgins & Co., Chicago, Ill.

"MAGGIE: A GIRL OF THE STREETS," by Johnston Smith. Price, 50 cents; pp. 163. Copyrighted, New York.

"AZOTH; OR, THE STAR IN THE EAST," by Arthur Edward Waite. Cloth; pp. 236; price, 21s. Published by the Theosophical Publishing Society, London, Eng.

"WROSTELLA'S WEIRD," by Helen Mathers. Paper; pp. 186; price, 25 cents. Published by Tait, Sons & Co., 31 Union Square, North, New York.

"EVERYBODY'S FAIRY GOD-MOTHER," by Dorothy Q. Price, paper 50 cents; pp. 58. Published by United States Book Company, 5 and 7 East 16th Street, New York.

"LOADED DICE," by Edgar Fawcett. Cloth, pp. 288; price, \$1.25. Published by Tait, Sons & Co., 31 Union Square, North, New York.

"CHRISTINE." A novel. By Adeline Sergeant. Cloth; pp. 325; price, cloth, \$1; paper, 50 cents. Published by Tait, Sons & Co., 31 Union Square, North, N. Y.

"THE ANGEL AND THE KING AND OTHER POEMS," by John Augustine Wilstach. Cloth; pp. 438. Published by Charles Wells Moulton, Buffalo, N. Y.

"THE COLOSSUS," by Opie Read. Paper; pp. 254; price, 50 cents. Published by F. J. Schulte & Co., the Ariel Press, Chicago, Ill.

"OLIVER CROMWELL," by George H. Clark, D. D. Cloth; pp. 258; price, \$1.25. Published by D. Lothrop Company, Boston, Mass.

"SEED: NUMBER ONE HARD," by John G. Woolley. Cloth; pp. 149. Published by Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York.

"THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOR," by Hiram Orcutt, LL. D. Paper; pp. 48; price, 15 cents. Published by the New England Publishing Company, Boston.

"HYPNOTISM AS A THERAPEUTIC AGENT," by William Lee Howard, M. D. Paper; pp. 34. Published by the American Job Office, Baltimore.

"THE REVEREND MELANCTHON POUNDEX," by Donn Platt. Paper; pp. 366. Published by Robert J. Belford, Chicago, Ill.

"IRENE; OR, THE ROAD TO FREEDOM," by Sada Bailey Fowler. Cloth; pp. 608. Published by H. N. Fowler & Co., 1123 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Penn.

"STORY OF GOVERNMENT," by Henry Austin. Cloth; pp. 885. Published by A. M. Thayer, Boston.

## PRESS COMMENTS ON CIVILIZATION'S INFERNO.

Below we give a few of the many strong words of commendation called forth by "Civilization's Inferno."

### A Volume of Remarkable Power.

A volume of remarkable interest and power, and merits the careful attention of all students of social problems. — *Boston Daily Traveller*.

### A Book to be Studied.

A book which should be read and studied by all. Mr. Flower's high enthusiasm, the artistic impulse which has guided his pen, together with his intimate knowledge gained by personal investigation of the matter, make his book most admirable. — *Boston Times*.

### The Author has Accomplished a Great Work.

Society, as it is now constituted, is nothing less than a sleeping volcano. Who dares to say how soon the upheaval will come, or whether it can be evaded by the adoption of prompt measures of relief? Certainly the condition of the lower social strata calls for immediate action on the part of those whose safety is at stake. Mr. Flower has accomplished a great work, in setting forth the exact truth of the matter, without any effort at palliation. It will be well indeed for the prosperous classes of the community if they are warned in time. — *Boston Beacon*.

### Presents a Startling Array of Facts.

Facts are stubborn things, and facts are what the community should have. These are just what are set forth in a book just written by B. O. Flower, entitled "Civilization's Inferno." The author has made the subject which he treats a matter of untiring personal investigation, presents an array of facts that are indeed startling, but he does this in no spirit of sensationalism. His pictures of the horrors of the social cellar are not overdrawn. They simply portray the infinite misery which is the lot of tens of thousands of struggling souls in the full blaze of our boasted Christian civilization. — *Boston Home Journal*.

### It Considers Causes Deeply.

"Civilization's Inferno" brings home, to the rich of Boston, the sufferings of the poor in their midst, through the injustice of the present social system to the industrial millions. It contrasts life on the Back Bay with life in the West and North Ends, bringing out realistically and effectively the conditions of poverty and crime. It secures the most interest, however, from its consideration of the social duties in relief; as in the building of model tenement houses, the restriction of immigration, readjustment of taxation against land, and the abolition of special legislation and class privileges, church reorganization for direct work among the people, etc. It considers causes deeply; and

notwithstanding it finds so much to radically condemn and to fear, it believes that the dawn of needed reformatory measures is at hand. — *Boston Daily Globe*.

*Should Find a Reader in Every Aristocratic Dwelling in Boston.*

If this book might find a reader in every aristocratic dwelling, and in every business office in Boston, it ought certainly to cause a revolution in the existing state of affairs in the poorer quarters of the city. Mr. Flower is a man of far-reaching sympathy and warm-heartedness, and his descriptions of the lives and experiences of beings of wretchedness and poverty tally with those so often inadvertently brought before the public through channels of crime. The wickedness of Boston herein disclosed should move men of wealth and means, and owners of property in the North and West Ends, to bring about an immediate reform and investigation. "Studies in the Social Cellar" is a book that should be in the possession of all who have the purity and progress of the city of culture at heart. — *Boston Daily News*.

*Gives Vivid Glimpses of Boston's Underworld.*

Mr. Flower gives scenes, not only from the lives of the worthy poor, but hints of that underworld of vice and crime that can hardly be mentioned, since the very mention must be more or less of an abomination. As a writer in the *Chautauquan* has said, "Boston wears at least a cloak of virtue to-day," but students of sociology are raising that cloak and learning something of what it conceals. — *Boston Commonwealth*.

*A Strong Appeal to Christian Civilization.*

It is a strong appeal to the Christian civilization of the times to arise and change the current of human misery, which, in these modern times, is driving with such resistless force. It abounds in suggestive economic reforms that are both reasonable and practical. — *Chicago Inter-Ocean*.

*A Philosophic View of Present-Day Dangers.*

It is not simply a selfish holding up of the danger signal, with the thought of saving the nation from the evils that exist and those that threaten, but rather a demand for the doing of what ought to be done to relieve the suffering and the misery, because to do that is right and just. Mr. Flower's writings are always graphic and honest. He glosses nothing, and shows entire appreciation of the gravity of the situation in the slums. Nor is he an alarmist, but rather a just investigator. It is not only a record of the discoveries made during a period of systematic slumming, but it is also a philosophic view of the dangers of the conditions which he discusses. — *Chicago Daily Times*.

*As Startling as It is Saddening.*

As startling as it is saddening, and as full of horrors as of truth. We rise from its reading without question as to the truth of what has been said, and with the sincere desire that its pages may be widely perused,

and its reformatory measures speedily be put into effect.— *Sentinel, Ansonia, Conn.*

What General Booth has Done for London, Mr. Flower has Done for Boston.

What General Booth has done for London and Mr. Jacob Riss for New York, Mr. Flower has done for cultured Boston. He is a professional man of letters, and tells his story with the skill and knack of his craft.— *Atlanta Constitution.*

A Powerful Plea for Practical Christianity.

With master hand he pictures how the Dead Sea of Want is enlarging its borders in every populous centre. He does not leave his readers with the bald statement of facts, but with the keen mind of the philosopher he shows forth the causes that have led up to the conditions of these social cellars. The author's message to the church is a powerful plea for practical Christianity. His arraignment of the saloon is a masterpiece of word painting.— *Helen M. Gougar in Morning Journal, La Fayette, Ind.*

A Work Long Needed.

In this book the great social problem of the day is laid before the reader in all its importance, its increasing dangers are pointed out, and practical remedies suggested in a way that is as interesting as thoughtful. We are glad to see the fashionable extravagances and vices of the class that assumes for itself the title of "society" treated with the condemnation they deserve. It is a work that has long been needed, and we are sure it will go far toward the end it looks forward to so hopefully.— *Nassau Literary Magazine, published by senior class of Princeton University.*

A Book that will Awaken Thought.

Mr. Flower is regarded in some quarters as a pessimist; and with superficial thinkers who complacently accept whatever is as right, the present work may add to his reputation in this respect. But he is no pessimist. He belongs to a coterie of brilliant minds who are unselfish enough to recognize the brotherhood of man and the possible future of the human race when equal and exact justice shall prevail; who are willing to investigate and learn the true condition of affairs, and intelligently seek a remedy for the terrible and soul-destroying poverty and attendant evil with which our civilization is cursed. This work is written by a practical philanthropist who is thoroughly familiar with the dark side of life in the "Hub." Many of the incidents which he relates are harrowing in the extreme, but they are only what may be found in any of the larger cities. It is a work which will awaken thought.— *Daily Leader, Des Moines, Ia.*

A Powerfully Written Book.

A powerfully written book, presenting facts which ought to move the most sluggish soul to resolve and action. Its whole lesson, sad as it is, is one that needs to be learned, and we will not detract from its completeness by presenting it in fragments; but we desire to call special attention to the author's exposition of the facts, concerning which there has been so much scepticism, that the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer. If there is any lingering belief or hope in the mind of anybody that this statement is a mere partisan bugaboo, as it has sometimes been styled, Mr. Flower's book will settle the matter.—*Daily Free Press, Detroit, Mich.*

A Terrible Picture of Life as Found To-day.

A terrible picture of the depths of want, wretchedness, and degradation to be found in the slums of our great cities. That the problem with which Mr. Flower deals is imperatively demanding solution cannot be disputed. What that solution will be no one can predict, but it is difficult to read such books as this and doubt that some solution—perhaps a terrible one—will be long delayed.—*The News and Courier, Charleston, S. C.*

A Great Book.

It is a great book, and presents in constantly moving figures the problem of what is to become of society if no remedy is found.—*Daily Penny Press, Middletown, Conn.*

A Work With a Grave Purpose and a High Aim.

A book with a grave purpose and a high aim is something to be appreciated in these days of trifles. Such is the book appearing under the signature of a no less keen observer and strong writer than B. O. Flower. It deals with the terrible realities of the understratum of social life, presenting graphic photographic scenes that have met the author's eyes in actual journeyings through the miseries of Boston. It will receive a generous welcome and an appreciative reading.—*Vox Populi, Lowell, Mass.*

Should be Read by Every Public Man.

Mr. Flower is a close observer, a deep student, and an enthusiastic worker for social and moral reformation. He appeals at once to the sympathies of all intelligent readers, and his statistics are unanswerable. "Civilization's Inferno" should be read by every public man, and all those who are interested in the advancement of humanity.—*New Britain Record, New Britain, Conn.*

What "Civilization's Inferno" Sets Forth.

Mr. Flower may or may not be a believer in social progress by evolutionary law; but if he is, he is keenly alive to the fact that such law must be set in operation by the machinery of human effort. He has descended



to the lowest depths of the social cellar, and, shrinking back from the appalling spectacle of the vicious and criminal, observes with horror that the class immediately above it—the unfortunate and deserving but needy poor—are standing on the edge of the precipice in momentary danger of sinking into the gulf below. These awful phenomena of despair and degradation, of hopeless toil and anguished suffering, the author, while by no means ignoring the natural consequences of heredity and environment, and numerous other subsidiary causes, attributes primarily to class legislation. He holds firmly to the view of the poor growing poorer *because* the rich are growing richer, and this in consequence of special privileges. The responsibility is thus thrown on society, while the church is arraigned as wanting the moral energy to denounce the greed of the money-changers whose gold it covets. To the author this view of the case is by no means a hopeless one. The evil was preventable, it is remediable. In the broadening views of social responsibility, in the clearer recognition that the welfare of each is inseparable from the welfare of all, he recognizes the gathering forces that will cast the golden calf into the fire, and in its place set up the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.—*Literary Digest, New York.*

*Every Lover of Our Country Should Read it.*

Seldom have we read any work so heart-stirring as this. It is worthy a place along with Booth's "Darkest England and the Way Out." It describes with great fidelity to the facts the present condition of American life. Every lover of our country ought to read it.—*Religious Herald, Hartford, Conn.*

*He Literally Uncaps the Pit.*

He literally uncaps the pit, the hell on earth; and if there are "the pleasures of sin for a season," it will be seen that the season is not a long one. The author depicts the scenes he has witnessed, and has the moral purpose—the passion for a better estate—which, enlivening his pages, makes the book as wholesome as it is inciting to practical endeavor.—*Christian Leader, Boston.*

*A Masterly Presentation of Social Conditions.*

The work is a masterly presentation of the social conditions around us. They make a vast problem, and it is by such earnest thinkers as Mr. Flower that it will be eventually solved.—*Daily Herald, Chicago.*

*Full of Love of Humankind.*

The book is full of love of humankind, and should at once be read by all who follow the literature of this subject, and those who wish to gain a deep sympathy with the poor and degraded. It is a strong, pathetic appeal in behalf of those who are crowded beneath the feet of all other classes.—*Public Opinion, Washington, D. C.*

*A Live Book by a Live Writer.*

While bristling with facts, statistics, and arguments, sandwiched between its thrilling narratives, the book is as readable as a novel. It pulsates in every line with the deep sympathy the author feels in his subject. It is a live book, by a live thinker, and a powerful plea for justice for those who heretofore have received the dole of ineffectual charity. — *Banner of Light, Boston.*

*This Book Takes a Decided Step in the Right Direction.*

This work contains the results of personal investigations made during a period of systematic slumming, when the author had every opportunity to observe and to prove to his own satisfaction the miseries and vice of the underworld. The author does not rest content with presenting these evils, but pushes yet further and demands those remedial efforts, which he holds as not only a privilege but a duty to make. He says that it is no more than just and proper that the public should know the exact extent of such suffering, and in turn do all possible to alleviate it. The state of affairs is presented, not with a view of alarming, but rather arousing, and the author gives a plain, unvarnished tale of the Boston poor as he found them. He also gives some ideas for relief that might be acted upon with profit. That the writer realizes the gravity of the subject, is apparent from the dispassionate and reasonable way in which he submits his facts, exaggerating nothing, and giving vent to no mawkish sentiment. The book is a thoughtful, earnest one; a decisive step in the right direction. — *Minneapolis Sunday Tribune.*

*A Severe Indictment of Pretended Philanthropy, Supported by Facts.*

The reader will not get far into its pages without admitting that the title is not a bit too strong. A more interesting and severe indictment of the pretended philanthropy of the age has seldom been presented, nor has there been one better supported by facts. — *Godey's Magazine, New York.*

*A Revelation to the People of the United States.*

General Booth's "Darkest England" opened the eyes of the British public to British woe. Mr. B. O. Flower, in his "Civilization's Inferno; or, Studies in the Social Cellar," has made a similar revelation to the people of the United States. Mr. Flower says in his preface that the book was written at intervals of odd moments, amid the pressing demands of arduous labor in another vocation. Yet the work is by no means devoid of literary merit. The writer is evidently both a "Good Samaritan" and a good writer. He has examined the dregs and the froth of society, and has discovered danger at both extremes of the social scale. — *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette.*

## NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

### Vol. VII. of The Arena.

WITH this issue we close the seventh volume of THE ARENA. Perhaps it may be interesting to classify and enumerate some of the leading papers which have been features of THE ARENA during the six months' issues which constitute the present volume.

#### I. SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS.

Among the articles of importance under these heads may be mentioned four papers by Helen Campbell, on Women Wage-Earners of Europe and America. The Social Quagmire and the Way Out of It, two papers by Alfred Russel Wallace, D. C. L. Evictions in New York, by W. P. McLoughlin. The Initiative in Switzerland, and How to Introduce the Initiative and Referendum in America, two papers by W. D. McCrackan, A. M. Compulsory Arbitration, by Rev. Lyman Abbott, D. D., Rabbi Solomon Schindler, and Chester A. Reed. Government Ownership of Railways, by T. V. Powderly and Rabbi Solomon Schindler. Are We Socialists, by T. B. Preston. The Power and Value of Money, by Rev. M. J. Savage. A Pilgrimage and a Vision, or Social Contrasts in Boston, and Are We a Prosperous People, two studies of social conditions, by the editor. The Tenement House Problem in New York, by Eva McDonald-Valesh. Anarchism: What it is and what it is Not, by Victor Yarros. Suicides and Modern Civilization, by Frederick Hoffman. The Money Question, by John Franklin Clark. Railway Tariffs, by J. L. Cowles.

#### II. RELIGIOUS PAPERS.

From Human Sacrifice to the Golden Rule, by Rev. J. T. Sunderland. Authority in Christianity, by Rev. Geo. Lorimer, D. D. The New Old Testament, by Rev. John W. Chadwick, D. D. Evidences of Christianity, by President O. Cone, D. D. A Religion for All Time, by Louis R. Ehrich. The Supremacy of Reason in Religion, by Rev. T. Ernest Allen. Religious Thought in Japan, by Kinza M.

Hirai. The New Religion, by Edwin Dwight Walker. Why the World's Fair Should be Opened on Sunday, by Bishop J. L. Spaulding and Rev. O. P. Gifford. Religious Thought in Colonial Days, and Persecution of Christians in Tennessee, by the editor.

#### III. PAPERS OF LITERARY AND ARTISTIC CHARACTER.

The Future of Fiction, by Hamlin Garland. An American School of Sculpture, by Wm. Ordway Partridge. The Bacon-Shakespearean Controversy, by Rev. A. Nicholson, Dr. W. J. Rolfe, F. J. Furnivall, Honorable Ignatius Donnelly, and Professor Felix Schelling.

#### IV. EDUCATIONAL, ETHICAL, AND REFORMATIVE THOUGHT.

The New Education and Character Building, by Professor J. R. Buchanan, M. D. Low Ethical Ideals in our Higher Educational Centres, by the editor. Growth Comes from Within, by Mrs. E. L. Mason. Character Building the next Step in Education, by the editor. The Woman's Part, by Cora Maynard. The Burning of Negroes in the South, by the editor.

#### V. TEMPERANCE.

Christ and the Liquor Seller, by Mrs. Helen M. Gougar, A. M. Does Bi-Chloride of Gold Cure Inebriety, by Henry Wood (a metaphysician's view). Does Bi-Chloride of Gold Cure Inebriety, by Dr. Leslie Keeley (a reply to Dr. Wood).

#### VI. THE OCCULT WORLD — PSYCHICAL RESEARCH AND METAPHYSICAL SPECULATION.

Automatic Writing, by B. F. Underwood. Occultism in Paris, by Napoleon Ney. Astrology in London, by Edgar Lee. Foreshadowings, by Hester M. Poole. Interesting Psychical Phenomena, and Inspiration and Psychical Phenomena among our Latter Day Poets, by the editor. Life After Death, Professor S. P. Wait. The Modern Expression of the Oldest Philosophy, by Katharine Coolidge; and Four Strange and True Stories, by Louise Chandler Moulton.

VII. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES, SHORT STORIES, TRAVEL AND CHARACTER SKETCHES.

A Chinese Mystic, by Professor J. F. Bixby. Alexander Salvini, by Mildred Aldrich. Life of Chas. Darwin, and A Poet of the People, by the editor. Christmas Eve at the Corner Grocery, A Day in Asia, and The Leper of the Cumberlands, by Will Allen Dromgoole. Was it Prophecy, by Rev. W. P. McKenzie. Celestial Gotham, by Allan Forman. Under the Arctic Circle, by Judge John Keatley.

From the above partial table of contents it will be seen that the six numbers comprising Vol. VII. are peculiarly rich in the able discussion of vital subjects. It will be our aim to make Vol. VIII. stronger and in every way better than any preceding volume.

**School of American Sculpture.**

Last month we published a paper of great power on the future of American fiction, from the always thoughtful and vigorous pen of Hamlin Garland. In this issue we give our readers a remarkable paper dealing with the future of American sculpture, by an American sculptor who without doubt will, long ere he reaches his prime, stand at the head of his art in the New World. Those who enjoyed the good fortune of seeing Mr. Partridge's Madonna on exhibition, last autumn, in the Back Bay Museum of Fine Arts in this city, felt that a great artist soul had wrought upon the block which produced that wonderful face; not simple and inane, as are most Madonnas; not a girl without force of character, and with full, round face and weak mouth, as so many artists have conceived the mother of Jesus to have been, but a magnificent type of womanhood. The ideal of what the mother of the world's greatest ethical leader should be. A woman who could command the love and profound respect of a high-minded man. Such was Mr. Partridge's ideal conception. But there is much beyond the remarkably fine work already wrought by this young sculptor in the Parisian Studio, which

strengthens my conviction that he is destined to stand at the head of his fellow-sculptors in America. Like Mr. Garland, Mr. Partridge is a high-minded, clean-souled, earnest worker. No artist more deeply loves his art than he, yet his sympathies and affections are broad enough to go out to his fellow-men. This gives him a peculiar power, a soul-enthusiasm and intensity which is reflected in his work. Then his high-mindedness places him beyond the temptations of modern life which enervate manhood, lower ideals, and weaken the intellectual grasp. This paper is a valuable contribution to the constructive literature of the new time. A paper on the future of the Drama in America, which I expect to publish in an early issue, will be another contribution to this series.

**Evolution of Christianity before Dr. Abbott.**

All thoughtful Christians who are interested in the best thought called forth by the wonderful awakening which marks the religious thought of our times, will be interested in Professor Orello Cone's masterly paper on Evolution, which appears in this issue of THE ARENA. Dr. Cone's ability is recognized by all scholars, and his sincerity and devotion to truth is unquestioned. His essay forms another valued contribution to the religion of the wonderful new age of critical thought in which we are living.

**Women Wage-Earners of Europe and America.**

In this issue of THE ARENA we give the fourth instalment of Helen Campbell's masterly papers on Women Wage-Earners. In the June ARENA the last paper of this series will appear. This is the first time in the history of magazine literature when the important theme has been anything like exhaustively treated, and I am glad to know the presentation has been appreciated by earnest workers for social and economic reforms. I know of no worker so capable as Helen Campbell to do the careful authoritative work found in these papers.

### **Suicide and Modern Civilization.**

Mr. Hoffman's paper in this number of **THE ARENA** will challenge the attention of all thoughtful persons interested in vital social problems, not only because it discusses a question of the first importance, but because it is the most authoritative presentation of the problem which has appeared in years. For almost a year the author has been gathering his material for this paper. It is a contribution which merits the attention of every thoughtful American.

### **Insanity and Genius.**

A feature of the June **ARENA** will be a thoughtful paper by the distinguished American alienist, Dr. Arthur McDonald, on "Insanity and Genius." Dr. McDonald's recent work on "Criminology" entitles him to stand in the first rank of alienists in America, and this contribution will be read with great interest by all thoughtful people.

### **Union on Ethical Basis.**

I hope to be able to present in the June **ARENA** some thoughts and suggestions on a union of all earnest men and women who believe in pushing forward reformatory work along ethical lines. I cannot entirely agree with Mr. Seward, but I rejoice that within the ranks of orthodoxy such a movement has been made. The movement which I believe will become general, and of real practical use and power, will be broader than any church creed or religion, and, while in no way antagonizing any faith, will embrace true-hearted and noble-souled men and women of all faiths or of no special theological bias. All may unite in furthering the great onward moving current of the new day. In his admirable paper in the March **ARENA**, Mr. Ehrich struck, I think, the key-note of the present-day demand; and while I would in no way meddle with the beliefs of any one, I would unite all earnest workers on a simple, all-inclusive platform for *present-day practical work*; and upon this line I hope in our next issue to throw out some thoughts which I trust may be helpful.

### **Freedom in Dress.**

Mrs. Francis E. Russell, chairman of the Committee on Dress of the National Council of Women, furnishes a valuable paper on this timely subject in the present issue of **THE ARENA**. I have strong faith that the era of common sense in woman's dress is to follow the age of common sense in regard to woman's sphere, and that ere long women will break from the disgusting and demoralizing thralldom of fashion. The great danger at the present time lies in the possible timidity on the part of the women who head the movement, in the face of the opposition which conventionalism always offers to a forward step, and in possible contentions among the leaders themselves. In a reform of this kind no one can afford to ride a hobby. The will of the majority should be loyally accepted, with the knowledge that, when the fetters of fashion are broken and freedom gained, common sense as to the best *special dress* will prevail. I hope to be able to give our readers in the June **ARENA** an illustrated paper on this subject, with photographs of some costumes now being worn by some ladies in Boston.

### **How to Introduce the Initiative and Referendum.**

Last month we published an able and concise presentation of the "Initiative in Switzerland," from the pen of the eminent authority in Swiss affairs, W. D. McCrackan, A. M. In this issue Mr. McCrackan has been asked by very many of our readers how to introduce the Initiative and Referendum into our government. This paper will interest tens of thousands of our most thoughtful readers. The introduction of these measures would be of inestimable value in rescuing the nation from the conscienceless grasp of corporation lobbies and soulless companies for plunder, which at the present time threaten the stability of government. Wonderful, indeed, has been the growth among thoughtful voters during the past year of a strong sentiment in favor of the early adoption of these admirable and truly republican



measures by our people; and I feel it will not be rash to predict that this introductory will be a leading issue in the next presidential campaign.

#### Brotherhood of Christian Unity.

In this issue we give a brief paper from the founder of the Brotherhood of Christian Unity; and while I do not regard the selection of name or the pledge as fortunate, for reasons which I will give in a paper next month, I hail the successful formation of such a brotherhood within the border of orthodoxy as one of the many hopeful signs of the times. Churchanity is going down; true religion and the highest altruism is rising. The religion of the past has been largely a battle over creeds; the religion which will vitally affect the civilization of to-morrow will not be cursed by dogma, but it will be radiant with love, and that high moral purpose which is the highest vital element of any religion.

#### Parents' Association of America.

I rejoice to see more and more attention being given to parenthood and its sacred responsibilities. An ideal civilization can never be reached until this great subject receives the solemn consideration of those who are to call other lives into the world. Men and women should shrink from a crime against the helpless unborn, as man should shrink from strangling the prattling, unoffending child who possesses no strength to defend himself. No wife should become a mother until her own soul called for the new life; and even then no man or woman who affiliates hereditary diseases, or who is morally debauched, should dare to incur the danger of cursing an innocent life. Recently an association has been formed in New York with the following avowed object:—

1. To afford to parents opportunities for co-operation and consultation, so that the wisdom and experience of each may be made profitable for all.

2. To stimulate their enthusiasm through the sympathy of numbers acting together.

3. To create a better public opinion on the subject of the training of children, and, with this object in view, to collect and make known the best information and experience on the subject.

4. To assist parents of all classes to understand the best principles and methods of education in all its aspects, and especially in those which concern the formation of habits and character.

5. To secure greater unity and continuity of education by harmonizing home and school training.

The name of this organization is the Parents' Association of America. Every mother and father in America should give it earnest support. Below I give some further information concerning the organization, whose headquarters are at 328 West 21st Street, New York.

3. The association shall consist of a central society composed of permanent members, and of delegates from local branches. The object of the local branches shall be to carry on the work in the neighborhoods in which they shall be organized.

4. The work of the association shall be carried on by means of series of addresses and less formal meetings, and shall be so arranged as to deal with education under the following heads: physical, intellectual, ethical.

The arrangements concerning meetings, etc., shall be made with a view to the convenience of fathers, as well as of mothers.

The work of the association shall be arranged so as to help parents of all classes.

5. Co-operation between the membership shall be maintained by means of the monthly magazine *Childhood*, in which shall be published the proceedings of the meetings and such other information as shall be of service to the members.

6. As the duties and responsibilities of both heads of the household in the education of the children form a unit, the husband and wife shall be considered as one member, and be subject to only one annual dues. But unmarried persons, interested in the objects of the society, may become members on payment of the regular fees.

7. The annual dues shall be two dollars, and each member shall be entitled to receive monthly a copy of *Childhood*.

#### Women Wage-Earners.

In the June *ARENA* the last paper by Helen Campbell on "The Women Wage-Earners of Europe and America" will appear. This series of papers is without doubt the ablest presentation of this great theme ever published in a review. It is a noble achievement by one of the ablest writers in America to-day.

#### The Arena Club in New Orleans.

About a year ago a number of thoughtful women in New Orleans, stimulated by the discussion of live subjects in the pages of this review, formed a society

which they christened the "Arena Club." During the past year they have been earnestly discussing social, ethical, and economic problems of the hour. On a recent occasion the subject of the Single Tax was up for discussion. This meeting was reported as follows in the *New Orleans Times-Democrat* :—

Last night, at a meeting of the Arena Club, a club composed of ladies who have been studying political economy, Professor Dillard, an advocate of the single-tax theory, delivered an address, explaining what was meant by the name, and making a strong plea for the justice of taxing land values, which increase with the community's growth, while pointing out the seeming injustice of taxation on the improvements which individual thrifty men have put upon their land, thus increasing the community's wealth and general value of all land.

This was an interesting subject to many of those present, as it is one that is being talked of on lecture platforms and in the public prints, and there were six in the audience who avowed their adherence to the single-tax principle.

The meeting was held yesterday evening in the club rooms, 150 Julia Street, and was presided over by the president, Mrs. J. M. Ferguson, who at the close of the lecture presented to Professor Dillard a very pretty bouquet of roses, in the name of the club, inviting all the members to step forward and have a short talk with the lecturer in an informal way.

A letter was read from Hamlin Garland, the author of "A Spoil of Office," expressing his pleasure at the formation of a club in New Orleans, which, as it is embodied in its by-laws, is organized to increase good fellowship among women; to properly educate the moral, mental, and physical faculties of its members; to disseminate a knowledge of the laws that should govern life in all its relations; and whenever occasion demands, to take such private or public action as shall serve the best interests of the female sex.

The officers of the club are: Mrs. J. M. Ferguson, president; Mrs. C. A. Miltenberger, vice-president; Miss P. Titelbaum, treasurer; Miss M. P. Hero, secretary.

The *New Orleans Daily Picayune* contains the following notice:—

The Arena Club, composed of a number of progressive, intellectual women, whose object of organization is the study of political economy, enjoyed a delightful reception last evening at the residence of Mrs. James Ferguson. The officers of the Arena Club are: Mrs. James Ferguson, president; Mrs. Charles A. Miltenberger, vice-president; Miss Matilda P. Hero, secretary; Miss Pero-ka Titelbaum, treasurer; Miss Anna Hero, librarian.

The lecturer of the evening was Professor James H. Dillard of Tulane University. His subject was "Single Tax." He made an exhaus-

tive analysis of the political method of taxation now prevailing, and its unjust bearing upon the general prosperity of the community.

Professor Dillard's lecture was received with warm applause, and at its termination he was presented with a large basket of flowers by Mrs. James Ferguson, who expressed the thanks of the Arena Club in graceful words.

After Mrs. Ferguson read a personal letter from Mr. Hamlin Garland, the celebrated author, the guests of the evening were invited to participate in a general discussion of single tax, and the many issues connected with the political economy of the day.

I give this extended notice because I feel that all such movements should be encouraged. They develop character, making broad, noble thinkers in perfect touch with the vital problems of the day. They round out character, and are of incalculable benefit to those who belong to the circle. I wish such circles could be formed in every community, but I would urge a mixed membership. I believe when men and women mingle in such societies, the effect is even more admirable than when the society consists of one sex alone. Men bring with them a certain breadth of thought gleaned from the broader world in which their lives are thrown, while women carry a delicacy and refinement which is uplifting. One complements the other; and when such societies exist, composed of earnest and truth-loving men and women, the whole community is benefited by the influence.

#### An Additional Evidence of Prosperity.

In this issue I publish a final word on the "Prosperity" question as it relates to Nebraska, reproducing Banker Evans' letter, and the reply by a thoughtful citizen of Nebraska. I trust our readers will carefully peruse the facts presented by our correspondent, as they set forth phases of the problem rarely given in the daily press, or in magazine literature, which caters to entrenched capital. Mr. J. S. Mailer of Palmyra, Neb., sends in the following clipping from the *Leader of Lincoln, Neb.* I suppose the friends of present social conditions will regard the following as an additional evidence of prosperity:—

In the *Beacon-Independent*, on March 16, published at Broken Bow, we count fifty advertise-

ments of sheriff's sales, besides half a dozen or more chattel mortgage sales and notices of foreclosure. Comment is unnecessary.

In this letter Mr. Mailer says:—

I was amused to read the stricture of J. D. Evans of Stockham, Neb. It is ingenious, and plausible, and in a certain neighborhood can be sustained. But there is a weak point in his argument which I wish to call your attention to, and that is, most of the mortgages given are by farmers who have farms all clear of debt, and are prosperous. The fallacy lies in the fact that the farm already cleared helps to pay for the new purchase. That is to say, I purchase eighty acres of land at ten dollars per acre, and give as extra security another eighty acres that is clear of encumbrance; so in reality it is the one hundred and sixty acres that clear the eighty. So instead of the eighty paying for itself as it ought, it is the prior eighty that is yoked into the work. We have a great many such in this part of Nebraska, and yet they are called prosperous.

#### Low Ethical Ideals.

On reading the editorial in the February ARENA on "Low Ethical Ideals," the ladies belonging to the Melrose Literary Society in Putnam County, Fla., passed a series of resolutions urging the presidents and faculties of Princeton and Yale Colleges to take cognizance of the disgusting laxity in morals of students in their respective institutions. The following communication from H. N. Van Dyke, secretary of the president at Princeton, indicates that at least the attention of the faculty has been called to the disgraceful action of the Princeton students on Thanksgiving evening. If women everywhere over the Union had the wise judgment to act in a similar way, our colleges would soon feel a pressure which would compel more attention to the ethical side of the student's life. This again suggests a union of all earnest workers for ethical elevation and vital reform throughout the Union; for by a chain of clubs or societies acting in unity, a great leverage could be exerted.

The following is the letter above referred to, from the secretary of the president of Princeton College.

Miss Nellie Glen,

Banana, Putnam Co., Fla.

DEAR MADAM: Your note of the 13th, and the copy of the resolutions passed by your society, were duly received by the president, and have been read to the faculty. Steps have already been taken looking to the end desired.

#### An Earnest Appeal to our Readers.

I earnestly ask each reader of THE ARENA this month to carefully peruse the thoughtful paper by Miss Myra Dooly in this number of the magazine.

I would also be pleased if the readers, after perusing Miss Dooly's paper, would carefully read Dr. J. Heber Smith's admirable address, which was delivered at a meeting of the Parental Home Association held in Boston. Dr. Smith is one of the most scholarly physicians of the Hub, a professor in the Boston University School of Medicine, and a man of wide reading and deep research; but far more than this, he has a soul illumined with that light which permeates every truly philanthropic person, and which must lighten society before the advent of a true civilization.

An earnest effort is being put forth in the Bay State to establish such industrial homes as those described by Miss Dooly, where the children of the slums and the waifs of the streets, who are now growing up either surrounded by vice or with the environment that is in no way elevating or soul developing, may be given a fine, intellectual, and ethical education, and where each child shall be taught the complete mastery of one or more useful trades.

Next to the question of hereditary or pre-natal influences, nothing is more important than the environment of the child; indeed, many social philosophers think that environment is more important than the combined effect of hereditary and pre-natal influences. Certainly this thought of establishing such a home as is being attempted in Boston at the present time, would result in not only saving hundreds of lives from the penitentiary and almshouses, but in giving to the Republic valuable citizens. Beyond this, it would unquestionably lead to the establishment of similar homes in almost all of our great cities, and the effect on public sentiment would be of inconceivable value. Besides, through these homes, established throughout the Republic, thousands of children would be rescued who are now day by day sinking irretrievably into vice, crime, and degra-

dition through unfortunate environment, owing largely to the indifference of our civilization.

The Parental Home Association requires at the present time about two thousand dollars. Since I made the appeal through THE ARENA we have raised three hundred and ten dollars for this noble work, and I would urge the readers of THE ARENA to consider thoughtfully whether they could better spend sums from ten to one hundred or five hundred dollars than by contributing to this noble work. I believe that if the present attempt to establish this home can be pushed to a successful termination

in Massachusetts, in less than five years scores of similar homes will be provided throughout the Republic.

Friends, this is not merely a palliative remedy; it means character building, by bestowing upon children, cursed by birth, an opportunity to become noble-minded, high-souled, and useful citizens of the republic.

#### Our Poor Fund.

The length of Dr. Smith's appeal for the Parental Home, in this issue, compels my omission of a statement of our fund for the deserving poor. It will appear, however, in next month's ARENA.

## A FINAL WORD ON "PROSPERITY" IN NEBRASKA.

(In the March ARENA I published a letter from Mr. J. D. Evans, with comments of my own on the same. Since then I have received a final word from a thoughtful citizen of Nebraska whose point of view is somewhat removed from that of Banker Evans. But in order that our readers may have the whole discussion brought fairly before them, I republish Mr. Evans' letter and my comments on the same, together with the thoughtful reply to Mr. Evans by a gentleman whose intimate relations with the industrial citizens of Nebraska gives peculiar interest and value to his views.—*Editor of ARENA.*)

I HAVE received a number of communications in regard to my recent article, "Are We a Prosperous People?" from all parts of the country. Many of these have been from Nebraska; and with one exception these communications indorse my paper, and thank me for presenting real conditions, with logical deductions from the figures, as shown by state records in Nebraska. I have received one letter from Nebraska and one from another state, taking issue with me. The former, I infer from the letter head, is from an officer in a national bank. And as this letter comes from Nebraska and is able, it will serve to give in a comprehensive manner the views of those who see no evil in unjust conditions at their door. I give this letter in full, appending some comments.

DEAR SIR: Your article in the January ARENA under the title "Are We a Prosperous People?" does a great injustice to one of the most prosperous states of the Union. Without entering into a general discussion of the subject, I desire to point out the weakness of your conclusions as based on the alleged facts of Nebraska's mortgage indebtedness.

Believing in the sincerity of your endeavor to ameliorate the condition of humanity, I would like to see you stand on firm ground while hurling your thunderbolts. But to build an argument on a misconception, and to draw conclusions not warranted by the facts, only weakens the entire effort at needed reform. If the poverty of the masses and resulting misery can be proven only by citing the condition of the Nebraska farmer, much valuable sympathy is wasted. I desire to call your attention to some phases of the mortgage question which seem to have escaped your notice, and to prove that the Nebraska mortgage is not an unmixt evil.

First, the record is necessarily incomplete, as partial payments are not a matter of record until the full payment is made. Hence the totals are misleading. And when fully paid off, releases are frequently not recorded until the owner has occasion for the use of an abstract. A well-to-do farmer of my acquaintance last spring mortgaged his farm to engage in business, and, before he could show a clear title, had to get several releases recorded which had been made years before. Owing to these difficulties, the census returns are likewise incomplete and inaccurate. Second, mortgages placed on town and city property in this new country are not evidence of increasing poverty, as you seem to suppose, but are made almost wholly for the purpose either of building or buying homes, or for raising the necessary capital to embark in business enterprises. In all the larger cities of the state, and in scores of thriving villages, there are local building and loan companies, that are building homes for their members on the co-operative plan. The mortgages they hold, and which help to make up your grand total, are the best evidence of thrift and prosperity. No such condition of affairs can prove that Nebraska is peopled with paupers.

Third, the mortgages placed on Nebraska farms are, in nine cases out of ten, evidences of thrift and not proofs of poverty. To prove this beyond cavil, let me cite you instances that have come under my personal observation in my own rural neighborhood. The conditions surrounding us are those generally prevailing, and are in no wise exceptional. Real names and full details will be furnished should you wish to verify the statements following. Mr. P. owned three hundred and sixty acres of land free of incumbrance, together with several thousand dollars' worth of personal property, all made in Nebraska. He sold his farm for ten thousand eight hundred dollars; and the buyer, a money lender at the county seat, immediately mortgaged the place for four thousand dollars. Will you claim that this four-thousand-dollar increase of the mortgage indebtedness of this county is proof that farming does not pay? Hardly. Mr. C. sold his eighty-acre farm for two thousand eight hundred dollars, the buyer paying one thousand dollars cash in hand, the balance to be in yearly payments, as she had it coming from the sale of her farm in Iowa. Mr. C. paid off the five hundred dollars which he had on the land, and took one for one thousand eight hundred dollars from the purchaser. Here is one thousand three hundred dollars added to the mortgage indebtedness of only one eightieth of Hamilton County land, yet no one is the poorer therefor—quite the contrary. Mr. B., wishing to add to his already large farm, purchased an adjoining one hundred and sixty acres. He put a two-thousand-dollar mortgage on the land, which was clear when he bought it, to finish paying for the same. This farmer made every cent of his money farming in Nebraska; and this two thousand dollars, added to the grand total of farm mortgages, is the best evidence of his prosperous condition. Mr. Z. bought eighty acres of clear land, on which he borrowed eight hundred



dollars at seven per cent interest, to finish paying the purchase money. This mortgage is added to your grand total, but is far from showing that poverty and farming are inseparable companions. Mr. W. is a well-to-do farmer, and, wishing to get a farm for his son, he bought a clear one hundred and sixty acres, and mortgaged the land for two thousand dollars to secure deferred payments. This is added to your grand aggregate, but is not an indication of poverty. Mr. C., a farmer's son, having reached his majority, invested his earnings in eighty acres of land. He lacked one thousand dollars of enough to pay for the same in full, and so mortgaged the land to that amount. But don't weep over his deplorable condition, I beg you. Mr. G. bought a one hundred and sixty acre farm that never had a mortgage on it, but, lacking enough to pay for it in full and make the necessary improvements, placed a mortgage on the same of one thousand eight hundred dollars; and he had a clear bargain of five hundred dollars in the purchase. The foregoing are actual transactions, had within the immediate neighborhood of the writer within a few months. Each and every one of them is an evidence of a healthy growth and a prosperous condition. By no flight of the imagination can they be made to prove that farming in Nebraska is unprofitable. From none of these men will you find "rivers of tears flowing from the sunken sockets of half-starved eyes." Multiply these prosperous examples by that of the entire county, and that by the ninety counties of the state, and you will find but a small remnant whose "muffled sobs speak of vanquished hope." There is poverty and misery enough and more in this fair land of ours, but the evidence thereof is not found in the Nebraska farm mortgage.

I might add that Hamilton County farmers have on deposit in the banks of the county upwards of half a million dollars.

STOCKHAM, NEB., Jan. 23, 1893.

Very truly yours,

J. D. EVANS.

I desire to make a few comments upon the above strictures. In the first place, it is proper to say that Mr. Evans' remarks upon mortgages relating to that part of the city and town lot mortgages which are held by building and loan companies are entitled to full weight. They, I am glad to believe, are not an indication of increasing poverty; but it must be remembered that this only relates to a fraction of the \$12,316,000 city and town mortgages. It has no bearing upon \$47,914,000 of the \$59,915,000 in mortgages filed in Nebraska, according to the official records, during the year ending May 31, 1892; while there is another phase of this problem I shall notice in a moment, which without doubt far overbalances, not only all reasonable allowances on this score, but on all scores which apologists for present conditions can advance. The cry that some mortgages are not released, advanced by Mr. Evans, is on a level with the oft-reiterated claim made by reformers that Mr. Porter's census taker did not return near all mortgages; only this charge comes from the other side. Doubtless there are cases not released; also in many cases the census takers for the general census were, doubtless, not as careful in making a full entry in their statistics of mortgages as they should have been; but in each case the omissions are slight in comparison to the aggregate. That there are cases of almost incredible carelessness in matters of having mortgages released, all persons conversant with these matters will acknowledge; but that this exists to such an extent as to materially modify the figures given in the official records, I do not believe to be true. It is one of the convenient loopholes through which our apologists for present conditions crawl when statistics or official figures enmesh them.

I wish that space permitted my publishing, in columns parallel with Mr. Evans' letter, extracts from many scores of letters which my paper has called forth, all substantiating my conclusions, only in most instances my correspondents aver that I have been far too conservative, which I believe to be the case; and, indeed, I endeavored to be as ultraconservative as the figures and facts at my command would warrant.

Several of my correspondents have called my attention to an important fact not noticed in my paper, but to which I revert above; viz., the number of farms and homes in Nebraska and other states which are constantly being sacrificed for a mere *bagatelle* over the mortgage to prevent utter loss by foreclosure. One correspondent says: "You have failed to point out the number of farms which are constantly sacrificed to save foreclosure. The two thousand one hundred mortgages on farms and lots sacrificed through foreclosure in Nebraska, which you mention, does not convey any idea of the sacrifices made along this line." And my corre-

spondent then continues: "For example, when a man has worked hard, made one or two payments in addition to interest, or perhaps has only made the first payment, but has improved his place from year to year, finally the mortgage matures without his having any means of meeting it; then he tries to sell his place so as to realize a few hundred dollars, which will enable him to 'move on.'" Another correspondent says: "While it is true some men who have large stock farms, and have money at interest, are increasing their bank accounts, the struggling little farmer, if he meets with a mishap in the way of a failure of crop, or sickness, having exorbitant interest to pay, is forced to become a tenant, or to sacrifice his farm to the rich farmer neighbor, or to the banker or real-estate broker in the town or city nearest his home." And so I might cite pages of extracts. I only give these in order to emphasize the fact that the number of foreclosures, significant as they are, do not begin to reveal the extent of the mortgage curse. If we had a census of the farms sacrificed for a small sum to save foreclosure, I do not doubt that they would far overbalance all allowance which could fairly be asked from apologists for present conditions.

I do not for a moment impugn Mr. Evans' veracity when he cited special cases on farms; but I do claim that as there are exceptions to all rules, these cases are the exception; and the general facts in the Nebraska record, as well as the revelations made by the general census, confirm this position. A person with the unequalled facilities offered to a prosperous banker to obtain these exceptions, I should think, would have enabled Mr. Evans to have cited a far more formidable array of single cases. It is highly probable that many of these persons may have money loaned themselves "more advantageously," as the phrase goes, than loans on real estate. But these exceptions cannot, in the nature of the case, influence the general trend indicated by the terrible facts revealed in the mortgage records of Nebraska farms, and the still more terrible revelations of the chattel mortgages record, reinforced, as they are, by the facts brought out by Mr. Porter's census.

By a singular coincidence, the very mail which brought Mr. E.'s letter contained two letters thanking me for my paper, "Are We a Prosperous People?" One of these letters came from the state of Washington, and the writer says: "I thank you for your truthful picture of conditions; I do not know how things are in the cities, but I do know how they are in the country, for we have just been *mortgaged out of a home in Iowa*, and have come here to start again." The other letter which this same mail brought was from a very thoughtful man of ripe scholarship, and intimately acquainted with the real facts so far as they relate to farm life; a man whose business environment in no way tends to bias judgment or influence his conclusions. This gentleman says: "*You by no means overstate the condition of the farmers. Many are leaving the farms and fleeing to the cities.*" The alarmingly rapid increase of tenant farmers, as shown by Mr. Porter's census in such states as Ohio, as well as Western states, further reinforces the other indisputable evidence from official sources, and leaves no room for reasonable doubt as to the inexorable bearing of present conditions. From facts brought to my attention since writing "Are We a Prosperous People?" I am more than ever convinced that in my article I have understated the case. This I wished to do, believing that the most conservative presentation, which at the same time should be in strict accordance with the terrible facts as they exist, would be sufficient to prove that *no palliative measures will answer*, and that we must demand *fundamental reforms, which are based on justice to all, and which comprehend the abolition of all class legislation.*

THE writer is a firm believer in the motto of the noblest of orders,— "An injury to one is the concern of all." Conversely, he believes that an injury to all should be the concern of one. This is my reason for the answer I shall give to the misrepresentations and false conclusions contained in the article of J. D. Evans of this county, as published in THE ARENA for March.

Such reasoning as that of Mr. Evans has done great injury to the American people, and a far greater injury to the people of my own state. It has placed us under conditions from which it will be fortunate if our children's children escape. It is dangerous because not wholly devoid of truth;

deceptive because instances, instead of averages, are given. Half truths are always misleading; and to base one's calculation from the figures on one side of the ledger is never good business policy.

I yield to no man in my admiration for Nebraska; but I thoroughly execrate the condition of bad government into which men of Mr. Evans' class have brought our state, both politically and financially. Whether these men deceive themselves, as well as others, is an unimportant question to the people who only wish to ascertain the truth. In this instance, for the purpose of getting at the truth, I shall examine the character of the proof offered in the article spoken of.

THE ARENA is in error in assuming that Mr. Evans is a national banker. He is cashier of the Bank of Stockham, an institution organized under the laws of the state of Nebraska. He was formerly editor of a Republican paper, received a good appointment at the hands of the optimistic class, started a bank, shared in the benefits of the same class, and absorbed his share of the labor of others.

So much for the interest he might have in taking a roseate view of the conditions. In addition to this, Mr. Evans has been something of a politician, has had the selection of census enumerators, and other appointments; and ambition as well as self-interest lies in the direction of making a strong case for his class and party. In regard to his statement that partial payments are made on mortgages which do not appear as releases, the writer desires to say that such a course is almost unknown. Some mortgages contain an option clause that the borrower can pay one hundred dollars or any multiple thereof when interest payments are due; but I asked several old residents in regard to it, and whether they had ever known of a mortgage being paid off in that way. They could call to mind a few, very few.

Regarding his statement that mortgages are paid and not released, it is only necessary to cite a recent law of our state (see the Consolidated Statutes of Nebraska, section 4363, page 928) which provides that release shall be filed by the person holding the mortgage, under a penalty of one hundred dollars. Under this law the loan companies are responsible, dare not risk this fine; and it follows that all releases are promptly filed, and that this statement is incorrect. On the contrary, it is true that the census taker for Hamilton County treated all overdue farm mortgages against which no *lis pendens* had been filed as actually paid, making an error of many thousand dollars on the other side, which, strangely enough, our banker friend fails to notice.

His letter speaks of the benefits of building and loan companies, and I notice that the editor of THE ARENA endorses his views. Both are right under most circumstances, but in Nebraska the state board has finally driven from the state the last association having connections where they can give low interest on money; and the local Western companies are either frozen out by the mortgage pool or forced to make their rates so high as to be oppressive. By this time your readers can get an idea of the "firm ground" on which Mr. Evans would have you stand while "hurling thunderbolts."

The statement that "mortgages placed on Nebraska farms are, in nine cases out of ten, evidences of thrift and not proofs of poverty" is in a certain sense true. They represent the thrift and prosperity of the classes that farm the farmer, and are proofs that those classes neither experience nor fear poverty. The truth is that, outside of the rise in the value of land,—the unearned increment which they get as a result of law and not of labor,—farming has not been profitable even in this, one of the best counties of Nebraska. Mr. G., a man who has owned two hundred acres of fine land in Hamilton County for twenty years, sold his farm the other day. He got seven thousand dollars, thirty-five dollars an acre. The optimists give him as an instance of the prosperity of the country. Mr. G. has a wife and four children. He is now comparatively an old man. He has always been industrious, had no bad habits, is a good manager and has an unusually able and saving wife; yet when Mr. G. came to figure the results of the labor and saving of the whole family for twenty of the best years of their life, in one of the best counties, in one of the best farming states of this nation, he found that the net result was one thousand two hundred dollars spent for needed improvements on the farm, which went in at the sale, and eight hundred dollars' increase in the value of his stock. To use his own words, "We have lived, worked like slaves, and have saved less than a hundred dollars a year."

The Mr. P. he speaks of is a well known old soldier of this county. He was lonely and disabled, and last year sold his farm, as stated, to Mr. W., a money lender of Aurora, who is said to have bought it for the purpose of saving taxes, in a way peculiar to Western money lenders. Though the law says that Nebraska property shall be assessed at fair cash value, assessors who wish to hold their job have fallen into a habit of getting valuations lower and lower, until it is now listed at from one fourth to one seventh of its real worth. Debts are deducted at full value; consequently the thrifty Mr. W. can loan twenty thousand dollars on chattel security, have the same listed for taxation at four thousand dollars, borrow four thousand dollars, and escape everything but a poll tax. This is only equalled by a nice little habit the "Bankers' Alliance" have of saving up greenbacks, non-taxable paper money, for the day when the assessor makes his appearance. It happens conveniently that the Iowa assessors come on the first of March. The non-taxable money can be there at that time, in Nebraska on the first of April, and in Colorado or some state where they list the first of May, if they choose to have it so. All this Mr. Evans could tell you far better than I, but he doubtless forgot to mention it.

It is needless to give personal instances or to follow them, as they prove nothing; but we cannot refrain from mentioning one more of the cases cited by our predecessor. Mr. G., he says, bought a farm that had never had a mortgage on it, and, lacking enough to pay for it, plastered the same

for part of purchase money. All this is true, but he neglected to mention that Mr. G. also borrowed eight hundred dollars of his son, for which he gave no mortgage, and that he has not added to the farm nor in any way improved it. The purchase therefore is, as he says, "an evidence of healthy growth and prosperous condition" — of the banker, who will carry these loans and live for years on the proceeds of the labor of others.

Any one familiar with the history of our county will tell you that at an early day Nebraska gave special advantages to soldiers in the amount of land they could enter, and as a consequence the pioneers of this county and state were soldiers. A large proportion of these had pensions; but notwithstanding the help this was to them in meeting their payments of interest, thus diverting Uncle Sam's justice to the pockets of the plutocrats, the pressure has been so great that two thirds of the early settlers are scattered over the West and South, many of them as poor as when they braved the hardships of pioneer life nearly a quarter of a century ago.

Mr. Evans waxes sarcastic at the last, "From none of these men will you find rivers of tears flowing from sunken sockets of half-starved eyes."

Tears have ceased, united action has begun, men have stopped the grind of toil long enough to find out that the foundation of this form of government is, "Equal rights to all, special privileges to none." They are heeding the words of one of old: "Have we not all one father? Hath not one God created us? Why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother, by profaning the covenant of our fathers?" If you reflect that "the small remnant whose muffled sobs speak of vanquished hope" has reference to the post offices under the late administration, all will be clear.

Mr. Evans' concluding statement is that the farmers of Hamilton County have on deposit a half million of dollars. If disputed he would show up bank statements. Here also a word is needed. A few years ago, when Western banks wished to borrow money, they re-discounted the securities taken. They now obtain the loan by issuing certificates of deposits with securities as collateral instead of notes or endorsed paper, and it shows up much nicer in the bank statement. It looks as though their customers had money and were depositing it with them, when in reality it represents nothing but borrowed Eastern money. One of the Aurora banks had sixty thousand dollars of "demand certificates" at its last statement. Multiply this prosperous example by the nine banks of Hamilton County and the ninety counties of the state, and you may not hear "muffled sobs," but will see the vanishing bank account of which Nebraska farmers hear so much but check against so little. The real amount that Nebraska business men, capitalists, and farmers combined can muster, is probably more nearly shown in the true deposits, which will aggregate less than one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars for this county. To sum the matter up, the profits of farming, outside of the increment arising from increase in the value of land, are not large.

The report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for Nebraska for 1892, page 197, shows that the average cost of raising an acre of corn in Hamilton County is seven dollars and three cents. The report of the secretary of agriculture, for 1890, page 296, says the average value of Nebraska corn for nine years, between 1880 and 1890, was seven dollars and fifty-eight cents per acre. The chief crop of the whole state is corn. This fact is also proven by noting how few mortgages are paid unless land is sold or the owner comes into possession of an inheritance.

What Nebraska needs is good prices for her products. What her common people fear is low prices for products. The cause of low prices is treated of far better than I can speak of it in Jerry Rusk's report for 1890, pages 7 and 8.

What we fear is a gold standard that will ruin our markets, and eventually take from us our homes. Gold mortgages menace our future, and are being put upon the land as fast as argument and ingenuity can get people who need money to sign them. I enclose you two of them, that you may notice the tricks and devices resorted to to deceive people into giving them. In the one the words are run closely together in a script difficult to read, and the gold clause is put in with a caret, in a small, light-face type. In the other a yellowish background is used so as to make it difficult to read. The same company issues a mortgage without gold clause for certain loans, and this is printed on a pure white paper, heavy script, good space between words, and is very easy to read and understand. Still another company has the gold clause in large skeleton condensed letters running through the bond, across all the lines, that no one notices unless attention is called to it. In many cases the agent has the farmer read the mortgage through laboriously, and it is signed when found to contain nothing about gold, the signer and his wife never dreaming of a gold clause in the bond, or real contract. I also enclose a letter which you may publish if you wish (*leaving out the names and date*), showing how particular some companies are to get the gold clause.

I notice your answer ably called attention to the deeds made to save foreclosure, and I enclose copy of a letter received by Mr. L. of this county to show that the suggestion to deed sometimes comes from the company. It is from the office of the New England Loan and Trust Company of Des Moines, Ia., and reads as follows:—

"We again call your attention to the fact that you have not yet forwarded your interest, although long past due. Under the provisions of the mortgage, failure to pay interest promptly makes the whole sum due and payable; and unless the coupon, together with accrued interest, be paid at once, we shall institute proceedings to foreclose the mortgage. *Perhaps it would be better for you to deed the farm to us and save the trouble and annoyance of foreclosure.* Let us hear from you immediately."

The cream of the discussion as to whether the people of Nebraska are prosperous can be arrived



at by determining, first, as to whether her principal business (farming) is pursued at an average profit under present conditions. The reports published by the party of which Mr. Evans is a member say no.

Second, whether as a whole we are using the rise in the value of our lands to get out of debt and change conditions so we can do business at a profit.

The Populist legislature, 1891, passed a law to give us some facts on this head, so we are not left entirely to conjecture. Each county clerk is required to make a monthly report of mortgages and releases. Mortgages are always new, but releases may be of any age, and on chattels (where the law does not require lender to file a release unless demanded by the borrower), they are frequently years old. They go in just the same; and in fact the bankers of this county gathered up a lot of these old releases and fired them in just before election to make a big showing. The amount ran away up into the thousands, and was used as prosperity argument all over the state, finally reaching the reviews. They evade in this way.

They have also recently got out a "renewal bond" to take the place of mortgages, so that what is practically a new mortgage will be kept out of the report and make no showing. I enclose you one of these renewal bonds, that you may see how much they dread the light of true investigation. This is not all. At Kearney, I am told, additions are laid out with a blanket mortgage covering them. When any man pays for his little home, this big mortgage is, on the payment of his few hundred dollars, released as to him and his heirs, and fifty or seventy-five thousand dollars goes blithely into the column of "Mortgages Paid." In spite of the efforts to dodge, you will find on pages 33 to 140 of the Bureau of Industrial Statistics for 1892, that the state was sixteen million, nine hundred and eighty-three thousand, four hundred and twenty dollars deeper in debt than at the beginning of the year, and that our own county of Hamilton was over two hundred and seventeen thousand dollars farther behind than ever before. Are we a prosperous people?

The optimistic party stands for a continuation of past conditions; for continued tribute to wealth; for half truths and deception regarding the condition and government of state and nation.

The populist idea opposes all these, believes in a real equality before the law, and the happiness of the many rather than the few; a condition where the laborer and the producer will be writing of the prosperity of the country, and the parasites of society will not so frequently be the ones to hymn praises to the governing powers.

The reader will naturally ask: If THE ARENA article and this letter show a tendency to amass wealth in the hands of the few, what can be done? To strike anyhow? Oh, no! That will give temporary relief, at most. To seize the property of the rich? Oh, no! That is wrong in principle, destructive to good government, and unworthy the thought of a free people. No, none of these. The men of the West and South are for certain principles: Free Coinage of Silver, Government Ownership of the Instruments of Commerce, The Initiative, The Referendum, The Imperative Mandate, Proportional Representation.

Very truly yours,

F. M. HOWARD.

AURORA, NEB., March 13, 1893.



## FINAL APPEAL FOR THE PARENTAL HOME.

ON March 8, Miss Myra Dooly delivered an admirable address on Industrial Schools abroad, at a public meeting of the Parental Home Association, held in Boston. The substance of Miss Dooly's remarks is given in the May ARENA, and will interest all thoughtful, philanthropic persons. In introducing Miss Dooly to the Boston audience, Dr. J. Heber Smith, the president of the association, made the following statement concerning the work and aims of this association:—

It was chartered in 1891 under the laws of Massachusetts, upon the petition of fifty or more citizens, including representatives of various professions and well-known business men of the state, in the recognition of the fact that the regeneration of society must begin with the children, and that in their true development rests the hope of our republic.

Efforts in behalf of the unfortunate and criminal classes are being directed with more intelligence every year, aiming at reformation rather than punishment, and the furnishing of mental growth and hand-training, to fit for real citizenship. But reformatory work is coming to be estimated as subordinate in promise for good to practical, tentative study of the right reception and training of neglected and destitute children, orphans or worse, that are at present inadequately provided for by the state or the established charities.

The Parental Home is to receive destitute children legally transferred to its guardianship, not younger than three nor older than twelve. They will be kept as pupils until they have received the equivalent of a grammar-school education and practical industrial training, until about the age of eighteen, when they are to receive graduating papers testifying to character and skill in one or more of the trades, and to the completion of the course of instruction.

The methods of the Lyman School at Westboro, a state institution for juvenile offenders under sentence of court, offer a radical departure from those of the older reformatories, and go far to justify the plans of the Parental Home. The school is organized upon the family system, the boys living in separate cottages containing thirty each, every aspect of confinement discarded, the playgrounds open, windows unbarred, and the boys intrusted with entire freedom. Although with classes of boys under sentence of court, the average number of punishments has fallen seventy-five per cent. All work every morning on the farm or at some industrial occupation. Special emphasis is laid upon a stimulating course of study,—drawing, mechanical and free-hand, manual training in woodwork, singing, martial drill, and a physical-culture drill, looking towards the perfection of ill-developed nervous centres, so common with the unfortunately born.

The Parental Home Association has an "agreement" for purchasing, under advantageous conditions, a beautiful and available estate of about one hundred and twenty acres in Danvers, known as the Massey farm, but must have two thousand dollars at once in order to fulfil its terms without the loss of an equal sum already paid down. Should the property be secured this spring, contributions of money and materials will be sought for the maintenance and training of only a few younger children, and for forming a primary class, pending the erection of cottages and suitable buildings and facilities for teaching trades. The services of the Rev. Warren Applebee have been secured as superintendent.

The home has adopted for its motto, "Education, Industry, Citizenship." Contributors of one hundred dollars will be presented certificates as

founders. Twenty-five dollars will constitute a life member. Founders and life members will be accorded special influence in designating children for the home.

Our directors are a unit in favor of the cottage plan and of the coeducation of the sexes after the methods adopted by Dr. Bernardo.

Whatever advantages appertain to modern training of children should belong, not to boys merely as boys nor to girls as girls, but should be diffused with absolute impartiality through both sexes for the uplifting of the generations to come. No intelligent student questions the value of industrial education. It is desired to have this full and complete, and not a play-house vagary of the hour. Graduates must be really practical artisans and wage-earners, knowing the *value of money* by having toiled to earn it, and able to take their stand in the ranks of the self-respecting supporters of American citizenship.

It is desirable that all work in the direction of saving destitute children should be done in as perfect harmony as is consistent with the rights of individual opinion. We have from the first invited everywhere a frank discussion of ways for *effectually* aiding those who are yet to sustain or pull down the pillars of the state.

The poor we have always with us — and the little children of the poor. A good proportion of the most trying instances of galling poverty, and the loss of opportunities for these dependents, are brought about through chronic and incurable sickness rather than by dissipation and crime. Poverty is toiling in garret and cellar, with failing health, uncheered by sun or stars. The criminal, in our strange and shifting social conditions, seems, for the time, better fed, clothed, and housed, whether sentenced or free, than the struggling poor. We are in a new age, and our hillsides are ringing with clamorous machinery unknown a generation ago. The steam engine, by annihilating numerous handicrafts and creating vast accumulations of capital, has revolutionized the whole organization of industry and altered profoundly the relations between capital and labor. Here in America, signally, wage-earners have been exposed to continually shifting conditions and methods of production, while imperilled by sudden and unlimited competition of strange and alien workmen and their women and children. The lad who seeks to learn a trade finds the way barred, in too many instances, or made repellent, through the predominating competition of aliens.

Our native families, sending their sons at any sacrifice through extended and often useless courses of book knowledge, are striving to lift them above the trades, and to fit them solely for salaried positions. The trades are seldom learned by native-born youth, and the employer must of necessity continue to import foreign labor. How many years more can this deplorable state of things continue without grave social peril?

Let us without delay correct the mistakes of the past, and, bringing fresh and larger methods for meeting a gigantic social emergency, gather the children of the slums within institutions such as the Parental Home is designed to be, and which have already been brought to fruition in Holland, Scotland, and England. Let this be done from New England to the Pacific States, that children once outcasts may be brought to be self-supporting and skilled artisans, and lovers of American liberty protected by law. Let science lead, with her accustomed precision and swiftness, applying to education the principles that conform to the mechanism and chemistry of nature.

You have all heard of the great work being done for destitute children by Dr. Bernardo of London. He began in 1866, in quite a humble way, with only one boy at first, who was hungry, ragged, and homeless. But as

soon as he came to realize that the number of boys and girls living in misery, degradation, and vice constituted a considerable portion of the population of London, he dedicated himself to rescuing the children of the slums. The work grew rapidly; and though depending on the spontaneous gifts of the public for its support, he has been enabled to establish thirty-three houses in London and seventeen elsewhere, having now therein six thousand or more girls and boys. The total number of destitute children removed from the life of the street and the slums during his long years of work exceeds twenty-two thousand. These have all been instructed in household management, educated, taught trades, or fitted for domestic service, and brought, one and all, during their stay in the houses, under the influence of genuine Christian instruction and example. Some six thousand, carefully equipped for their life work, have found places in the colonies.

The objects of Dr. Bernardo's work are, as stated by himself, to rescue, educate, and industrially train. The precision and definiteness of the training adopted affect deeply the character of the children, whose lives have hitherto been wild and purposeless.

The usual school day begins at 9 A. M., continues, with two hours' interval for dinner and for drill and play, to 4.30 P. M.; supper at 6 P. M., then a last drill and an hour's play; lights out at 9 P. M. The day begins and closes with family prayer. The half-time system has always been in vigorous operation, and the great success attained by Dr. Bernardo he himself ascribes mainly to that system. For one half of his day only does a capable boy attend school, and for the other half one of the trades shops, where practical training is imparted under experienced workmen. The trades taught are tailoring, shoemaking, carpentry, brushmaking, engineering, baking; and there are shops also for wheelwrights, blacksmiths, tanners, boxmakers, etc. There are well appointed work-shops for all these. In learning to master tools the boy learns to master himself, and thus the shops teach him, not merely to become a thorough mechanic, but also a man.

Repairs of their own boots, shoes, and clothing, as well as new ones, are made by the boys. The special aptitude of pupils is studied before selecting a trade. The partially crippled are given sedentary occupations, such as tailoring and shoemaking.

Dr. Bernardo writes, "As I send out into life more and more of my boys, I find that the one who has the mastery of his hands in any one direction is the boy who best succeeds." There are ample playgrounds, and the gymnasium is in constant requisition. Some acquire the mastery of a musical instrument in leisure hours. Almost if not all the homes have savings banks. The doctor writes: "I endeavor to treat them as responsible beings possessing immortal souls, with a future as lasting as eternity. Christianity is not presented as a theory of creed or dogma, nor as an austere system of shall nots; it is rather set forth as daily bread, as the love of Christ for sinners, as the pillar of cloud to shelter from temptation, as the pillar of fire to illuminate and cheer the traveller in life's darkest nights."

The *morale* of the institution leavens from the outset the life of the children admitted; and it is a matter of wonder to observe how the bad habits and vicious propensities of boys taken from the vilest surroundings fall away and disappear amidst the bracing atmosphere of such training.

Shall a movement of this character here in Massachusetts, as contemplated by the Parental Home, wait longer for the want of two thousand dollars — perhaps wait a decade, for others to see and correct the mistakes of the present generation? A short month only may answer.

Contributions can be sent to the THE ARENA, or to the Treasurer P. H. A., Albert H. Higgins, 175 Bellevue Street, Boston.

## RECENT PRESS CRITICISMS.

### Catholic in Spirit.

Broad on all sides. — *Christian Leader*.

### Always on Time.

The up-to-the-times review. — *The Budget, Manchester, N. H.*

### One of the Most Entertaining Critics.

Mr. Flower makes this fine free-lance magazine and review one of the most entertaining critics of the age. — *Record-Union, Sacramento, Cal.*

### The Most Ably Edited Review.

Undoubtedly one of the most ably edited and reliable magazines in the English language. — *The Victoria Warder, Lindsay, Ont.*

### The Leader of All the Reviews.

The leader of all reviews is THE ARENA. With the December issue, this popular magazine enters upon its seventh year. No other magazine gives so much in little. It is the busy man's encyclopædia. — *Democrat, West Chester, Penn.*

### A Strong, Prosperous Magazine.

It has gradually found its place in American thought and life, and its editor is to be congratulated, at the end of its sixth volume, with having reached a degree of prosperity that not one person in a hundred would have believed to be possible when it was first begun. It is now a strong and prosperous magazine, and it has established itself on lines which are vital, and which deal with interests of the first importance. — *Daily Herald, Boston, Mass.*

### An Invaluable Magazine to the General Reader.

This is a periodical which is growing in interest and popularity more and more every year with the reading public. One reason for its unparalleled success is that it publishes only the most excellent literature. Its scope of subjects is so comprehensive, that it is an invaluable magazine to the general reader. — *The Daily Gazette, Kansas City, Kan.*

### Represents the Highest Standard of Excellence.

It is one of the best numbers of this justly popular magazine of advanced thought. Mr. Flower has raised THE ARENA to the very highest standard of excellence, and no one can read it without being impressed that the man behind it is imbued with high purposes. — *Sun, San Diego, Cal.*



*Has no Equal.*

A magazine which, for breadth of thought and the conspicuous fitness of the authors to discuss the subjects in hand, has no equal among American literary publications. — *Telephone, Philadelphia, Penn.*

*A Leading Canadian Critic's Opinion.*

This magazine is one of the foremost exponents of thought in America. It is ably conducted by Mr. B. O. Flower, the editor, on broad and independent lines. Every number is strong, valuable, and readable. — *Morning Chronicle, Quebec, Can.*

*As the Boston Traveller Sees It.*

This monthly, only in its seventh volume as yet, has come to be eagerly read by the more thoughtful, who enjoy able discussions of timely topics. — *Daily Traveller, Boston.*

*It Has Grown Amazingly.*

THE ARENA is strong and vital with its radicalism, its courage, its sanguine conviction that many things remain to be done for mankind, and its resolute purpose to help do them. It has grown amazingly, as it deserved, for it is one of the greatest periodicals in the world. — *The Gate City, Keokuk, Ia.*

*Influence of this Review Extending.*

More and more, as the constituency and influence of this successful publication increase, does it come to bear the impress of Mr. B. O. Flower, who, in this regard, is coming to occupy the position into which Mr. Stead has grown in Great Britain. In the entirely distinct, but often confounded, roles of editor and writer, Mr. Flower is rapidly coming to be acknowledged as a man of great ability. An exponent, a prophet if you will, of advanced thought, of a religion too broad to be confined with the limits of dogmatism, of a love for humanity so wide and deep as apparently to have come welling up from the Christ heart, and not fettered by theological Christianity. — *Morning Times, Lowell, Mass.*

*It Knows no Fear.*

This magazine goes on conquering and to conquer in the region of broad thought and masterly discussion of leading subjects. Never has there been a time when religion was viewed so broadly as to-day, and all persons who have the courage to look theology squarely in the face will find THE ARENA indispensable. — *Penny Press, Middletown, Conn.*

*Has Taken Hold of the Heart of the Nation.*

The March ARENA comes to us laden with food for thought, consideration, and digestion. The magazine has a hold on the people who think broadly, and are brave enough to hear all sides of social, religious, and



economic questions, and is the exponent of the advanced thought of the age. Editor Flower is the American Hugo, whose mind and pen seem to have caught inspiration from the grand old Frenchman, and he is laboring, too, to teach the souls of men how to spell truth, and through the alphabet of reason to cull from it virtue, probity, generosity, and mercy. THE ARENA should be in the hands of every man and woman who realizes the responsibilities of life and the debt due humanity.—*The Southern Journal, Louisville, Ky.*

*The Arena, Where Great, Burning Questions are Discussed.*

One of the very brightest constellations in the firmament of great monthly magazines is THE ARENA, of Boston. It is edited by B. O. Flower, who has one of the keenest and most sympathetic minds in the editorial world to-day. THE ARENA is a great moral educator. Its powerful articles touch and move the human heart. It is broad in its scope, and all the great social, moral, and burning questions of the day are ably treated in its columns.—*Review, Groton, Conn.*

*A Review for Students of the Social Problem.*

The writer is often asked, by students of the social problem, to recommend the best magazine, and he never fails to mention THE ARENA, of Boston, which, though not the advocate of any school of thought—unless a steadfast and practical sympathy with the poor and the oppressed can be so designated—manages to have all sides presented fully, fairly, and promptly. THE ARENA does not confine itself to economic topics, but finds room for discussion on theology, literature, and even spiritualism, as well as for short, original stories with a moral. Its book reviews by Editor B. O. Flower often recommend works which would be touched gingerly in other quarters, if not overlooked, for I-am-holier-than-thou reasons.—*Daily Times, Hamilton, Ont.*

*Prefers The Arena to all Other Reviews.*

For our own reading we prefer THE ARENA to any other magazine published. It is broad, liberal, progressive. A new spirit is possessing the minds of men, a wave of diviner thought is flowing over the world, and to this great movement THE ARENA gives lucid expression. By perceptible degrees a better religion is developing. It includes the great religious leaders of every age, and is based upon the fundamental tenet of the brotherhood of man. There is a great work to be done. Intolerance, bigotry, and hatred, religious and political, must be rooted out. Avarice and inhumanity now rule the industrial world. Many willing workers suffer from cold and hunger, while monopoly fattens on the products of toil. No hope of a better condition is born of man-made laws. Prisons are full and asylums crowded. Each year is worse than the last one. No wonder there is a new movement in progress. To it THE ARENA gives fuller, clearer, and bolder expression than any other

leading periodical, not so much in the spirit of the iconoclast as in that of the evolutionist, and for this we commend it to all earnest thinkers and workers in the field of progress. — *Morning Patriot, Jackson, Mich.*

*A Fearless Champion of the People.*

It is a bold and fearless champion of people's rights, and is at the same time sound, prudent, and conservative. Calmly and fearlessly its able editor goes to the root of whatever evils he treats of, and yet without rashness he lays bare the wrong to the minutest details. It is no spirit of fulsome adulation which prompts us to say that, in the ranks of our American journalism, there is no stronger, more convincing writer than B. O. Flower, the editor of *THE ARENA*. While at times we may not wholly agree with him in his conclusions, he must be credited with a sterling honesty and singleness of purpose that always wins admiration, and commands respect, and insures attention. — *Catholic, Pittsburgh, Penn.*

*An English Opinion.*

At the head of these we purposely place *THE ARENA*. Excellent as are our own reviews, we have nothing so thoroughly good as this. Just as in the United States a degree of perfection has been arrived at in "illustrating" which seems unattainable in England, so in magazine production *THE ARENA* is easily first among the swarm of English-written periodicals. To one article reference is made in another part of *Light*. It is strange, and yet not strange after all, that in the most "go-ahead" nation in the world, speculative philosophy should be taking so prominent a place, yet that is what *THE ARENA* teaches us. — *Light, London, Eng.*

## OUR FUND FOR THE DESERVING POOR.

Total receipts for fund for deserving poor to March 2, 1893 . . . . .	\$2,728 84
Total receipts for Parental Home Association . . . . .	275 00
Total receipts for the relief of the poor received through the year . . . . .	\$3,003 84
Disbursements as per itemized report previously published . . . . .	\$2,186 54
Disbursements as per report later . . . . .	288 72
Amount handed to treasurer of Parental Home Association . . . . .	275 00
	2,750 26
Total disbursements . . . . .	\$2,750 26
Balance in fund . . . . .	\$ 253 58

### RECEIPTS FOR POOR FUND SINCE ACKNOWLEDGMENTS IN MARCH ARENA.

Mary P. Talman, Oakland, Cal. . . . .	\$3 15
H. B. Augustine, Davenport, Ia. . . . .	1 00
A friend, Long Beach, Ventura, Cal. . . . .	25
A friend, Brantley, Fla. . . . .	1 00
Ethel and Murray Fox, Grand Rapids, Mich. . . . .	5 00
S. H. Van Trump, Elmira, Mo. . . . .	1 00
Mrs. D. C. Quimbly, West Randolph, Vt. . . . .	2 00
A friend, Whitewater, Wis. . . . .	2 00
A friend, Clifton, Or. . . . .	3 00
C. H. Jones, Tyrone, Penn. . . . .	1 00
Mrs. E. S. Hall, treasurer of N. N. S. Society, Ventura, Cal. . . . .	2 00
	\$21 40

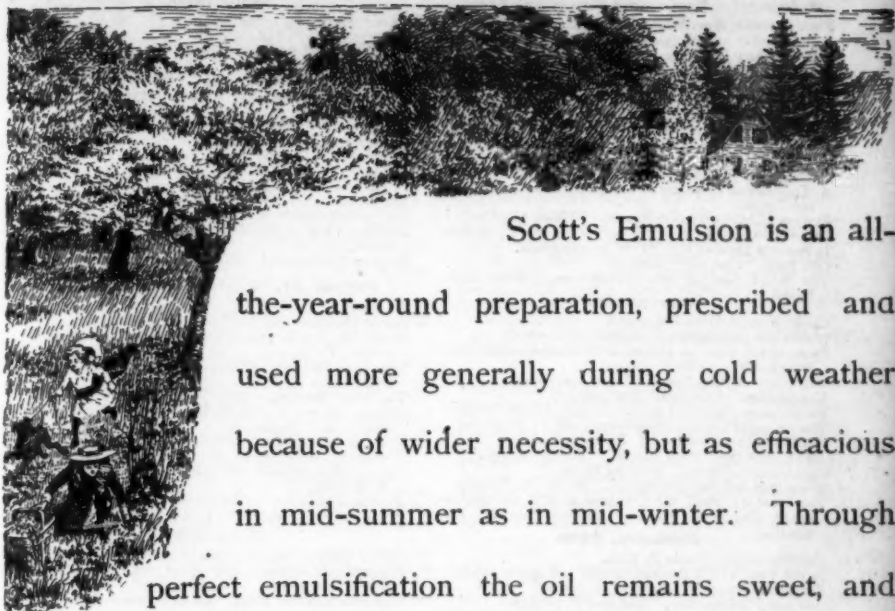
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For industrial and kindergarten work . . . . .	\$50 00
Coal to several families . . . . .	37 50
Boots, shoes, and rubbers (new) . . . . .	15 00
Repairs on second-hand boots . . . . .	7 80
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For soup kitchen, meals, and lodging, etc. . . . .	45 00
Groceries and meats to numbers of families, etc. . . . .	27 33
Christmas festival for poor children, etc. . . . .	36 25
Medicine and other relief to sick . . . . .	12 25
Relief to sailors . . . . .	4 75
Rent to a few families to prevent eviction . . . . .	7 35

### SPECIAL CASES PERSONALLY INVESTIGATED.

An old minister in abject want . . . . .	\$20 00
A poor man with large family and without necessaries of life . . . . .	10 00
A poor woman with little child . . . . .	6 50
	36 50
	\$36 50
	\$288 58

In addition to the above we have received for the Parental Home Association a contribution from Henry Wood of \$25, which, with the sum previously acknowledged, amounts to \$275 for this noble enterprise; all of which has been handed over to the Parental Home Association.



Scott's Emulsion is an all-the-year-round preparation, prescribed and used more generally during cold weather because of wider necessity, but as efficacious in mid-summer as in mid-winter. Through perfect emulsification the oil remains sweet, and being partially digested by chemical process is readily assimilated. It is pleasant to take, and can be used when other heavy foods pall upon taste. This is not true of plain cod liver oil, but in a variety of ways Scott's Emulsion is an improvement upon plain oil.

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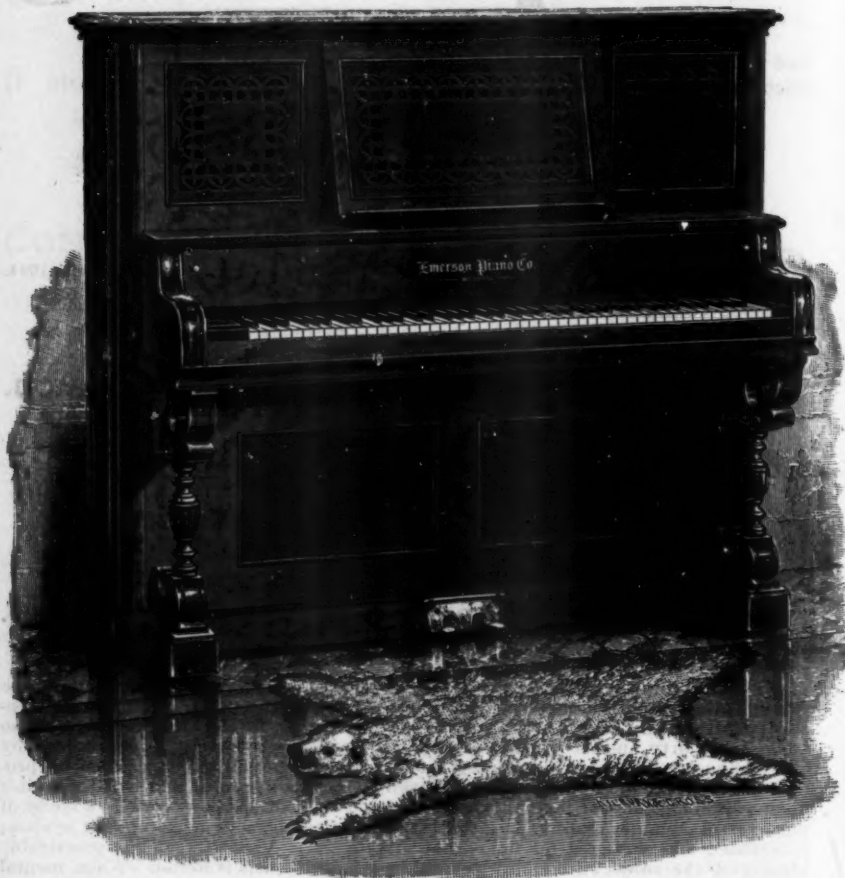
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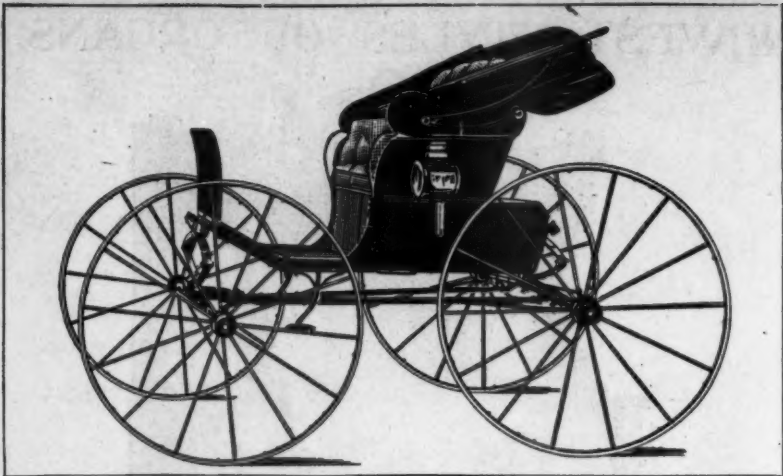
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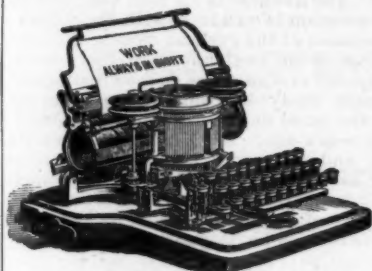
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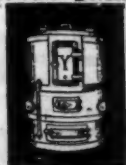
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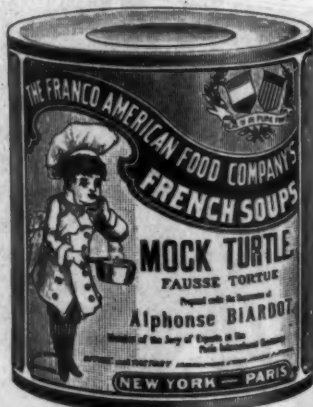
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BOSTON, MASS.:  
THE ARENA PUBLISHING COMPANY,  
PIERCE BUILDING, COPLEY SQUARE.

LONDON AGENT:—Brentano's, 5 Agar Street, Strand, W. C.

PARIS:—Brentano's, 17 Avenue de l'Opera; The Galignani Library, 224 Rue de Rivoli.

Copyright, 1893, by The Arena Publishing Co.  
Entered at the Post Office at Boston, and admitted for transmission through the mails, as second-class matter.  
Single Numbers, 50c. Published Monthly. Per Annum, \$5.

SUICIDES AND MODERN CIVILIZATION,

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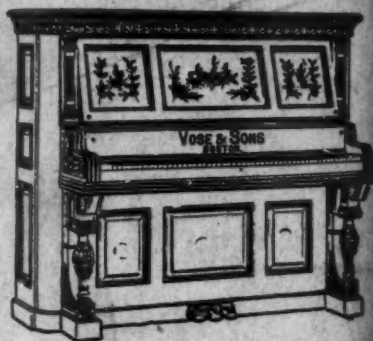
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